

نقوش آرامية قديمة ونبطية

من شمال غرب المملكة العربية السعودية

سليمان بن عبدالرحمن الذبيب

أستاذ مساعد في قسم الآثار والمتاحف

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"A Comparative Study of Aramaic and Nabataean Inscriptions From
North-West Saudi Arabia"

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ABSTRACT

This work deals with a selection of Aramaic and Nabataean inscriptions which were found in the NW of Saudi Arabia. The study has been written in four sections. Section I, the Introduction, includes a brief review of the history of the exploration of this area.

Section II has concentrated mainly on the study of Aramaic inscriptions. This section has been divided, in the course of study, into four parts: firstly, a brief historical background of the Aramaeans; secondly a brief discussion of the Aramaic languages, thirdly the study and discussion of the Aramaic inscriptions themselves, some of which have been described for the first time and some which have been restudied but from the original photographs. The final part is a brief discussion of the Aramaic script within the texts studied in this corpus.

Section III concentrates on the Nabataean inscriptions. The introduction, which includes a discussion of the origin of the Nabataeans, is followed by a brief study of their language. A third part focusses upon Nabataean inscriptions from Saudi Arabia, all of which as far as we know, are studied here for the first time (with the exception of inscriptions 27, 28 and 91); the final part is concerned with the Nabataean script of the texts studied in the corpus.

Section IV focusses on analytical and comparative studies of the personal names and lexica of the Aramaic and Nabataean inscriptions. The book also contains plates and figures of all the inscriptions concerned.

TO MY PARENTS

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Abbreviations

ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.
Abu-Duruk, IAT	<u>H. Abu-Duruk, Introduction to the Archaeology of Taymā, Riyadh: Department of Antiquities and Museums, Ministry of Education, 1975.</u>
al-Ansary, Liḥ	<u>A. al-Ansary, A Critical and Comparative Study of Liḥyanite Personal Names, Leeds University Ph.D thesis, 1966. Ant. Stud Anatolian Studies.</u>
BDB	<u>F. Brown, S.R. Driver., C.A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.</u>
BIA	Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
Biella, OSA	J. Biella, Dictionary of Old South Arabic Sabaeen Dialect, Chico: Harvard Semitic Studies, 1982.
Branden, Tham	<u>Alb. Van den. Branden, Les Inscriptions Thamoudéenes, Louvain-Heverie: Bibliothèque du Museon 25, 1950.</u>
Brauner, CLOA	<u>R. Brauner, A Comparative Lexicon of Old Aramaic, Pennsylvania: Dropsie University, Ph.D thesis, 1974.</u>
Brockelmann, GVG	<u>C. Brockelmann, Grundriss de vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen. Berlin 1908-13 (2 vols).</u>
CAH	The Cambridge Ancient History.

- CBQ The Catholic Biblical Quarterly.
- Cantineau J. Cantineau, Le Nabatéen, Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1930 (2 vols).
- CISi-ii Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars II. Tomus I-2 Inscriptiones aramaicas continens Paris, 1889 - 1907.
- Cooke, NSI G. Cooke, A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.
- Cook, Glossary S. Cook, A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions, Cambridge: University Press, 1898.
- Cowley A.E. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923.
- Dic.Sab A.F. Beeston, M.A.Ghul., W.W. Müller, J. Ryckmans, Sabaic Dictionary, Louvain-La-Neuve: Publication of the University of San^cā, YAR, 1982.
- Dic.Syr L.Costaz, Dictionnaire Syriaque-Français, Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1963.
- DISO C. Jean, J. Hoftijzer, Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965.
- Donner, Röllig, KAI H. Donner, W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, (1962-1964).
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- Gordon, UT C. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, Rome: *Analecta Orientalia* 38, 1965.
- Gröndahl, PNU F. Gröndahl, Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit, Rome: Papstliches Bibelinstitut, 1967.
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- Harvey, CCL P. Harvey, The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Healey, FSS J. Healey, First Studies in Syriac, Birmingham: University Semitics Study Aids 6, 1980.
- Healey, MME J. Healey, "Nabataean to Arabic: Calligraphy and Script Development among the Pre-Islamic Arabs," Manuscripts of the Middle East, 1990 (forthcoming).
- Huffman, APNMT J. Huffman, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965.
- IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*.

Ismāʿīl	F. Ismāʿīl, <u>lughāt nuqūsh al-mamālī al-arāmiyya</u> , Aleppo: University of Damascus, 1984.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
JS	A. ussen, R. Savignac, <u>Mission Archéologique en Arabie</u> , Paris: La Societé des Fouilles Archéologiques 1909-1914 (2 vols.)
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies.
al-Jadir	A.H. al-Jadir, <u>A comparative Study of the Script, Language and Proper Names of the Old Syriac Inscriptions</u> , Wales University, Ph.D. thesis, 1983.
Jamme, Le Muséon	A mme, "Le Panthéon Sud-Arabe Préislamique, res les Sources Epigraphiques" <u>Le Muséon</u> 60 (1974) pp.57-147.
Jamme, SH	A Jamme, <u>Sabaeen and Hasaeen Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia</u> , Rome: Studi Semitic 23, 1966.
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, <u>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</u> , London: Judiaca Press, 1926.
Jawād, A	A. Jawād, <u>al-muffaṣṣal fī tārīkh al-ʿarab qabl al-Islām</u> , Beirut: Baghdad University, 1978 (10 vols).
al-Kalbi	H.Ibn al-Kalbi, <u>Kitāb al-aṣnām</u> , Cairo, 1924.
Khraysheh, PNU	F. Khraysheh, <u>Die Personennamen in</u>

Nabataïschen InschriftendesCorpus
Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Marburg, 1986

- Klugkist, MAS A. Klugkist, Midden-Aramese Schriften in Syrië, Mesopotamië, Perzië" en Aangrenzende Gebieden: Rijksuniversiteit te Gröningen, 1982
- Koopmans, Chrest J. Koopmans, Aramäische Chrestomathie: Ausgewählte Texte (Inschriften, Ostraka und Papyri) Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabijoosten, 1962.
- Kornfeld, OAA W. Kornfeld, Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten, Wien: österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978.
- Kraeling, BMAP E. Kraeling, The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri (New Documents of the Fifth Century BC from the Jewish at Elephantine, New Haven: Brooklyn Museum, 1953.
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- Littmann, Semitic E. Littmann, Semitic Inscriptions, New York: Publications of an American Archeological Expedition to Syria 1899-1900, Part IV 1904.
- Maraqten, SPRIV M. Maraqten, Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt-und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus

	<u>Vordersien</u> , Hildesheim: Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 1988.
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
Moscatti, CGSL	S. Moscati, <u>An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Sem Languages</u> , Weisbaden: Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Otto Harrassowitz, 1964.
al-Muḥi	B. al-Būstani., <u>muḥi al-muḥi</u> , 1867-1870. (2 vols).
Negev, IWHS	A. Negev, <u>The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai</u> , Jerusalem: Publication of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1977.
NESE	Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik.
Nöldeke, SPAW	Th. Nöldeke, <u>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</u> 1884.
OA	Oriens Antiquus
Oxtoby, Sfa	Oxtoby, <u>Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin</u> , New Haven: American Oriental Series 50, 1968.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
PSAS	Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies
Phoen, PN	F. Benz, <u>Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions</u> , Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1972.
RB	Revue Biblique.
RES	Repertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique.
Ryckmans	G. Ryckmans, <u>Le Noms Propres Sémittiques</u> , Louvain: Bibliothèque du Muséon

	2 1934 (3 vols).
SHA	Studies in the History of Arabia.
Stark, PNP	J.K. Stark, <u>Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions</u> , Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
Tomback, Phoen	R.S. Tomback, <u>A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages</u> , New York: Scholars Press, 1974.
Winnett, Reed	F. Winnett, W. Reed, <u>Ancient Records from North Arabia</u> , Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1970.
Yāqūt	Y. al-Ḥamawī, <u>Muʿgam al-budān</u> , Beirut: dar ʿader and Beirut, 1955.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

General Abbreviations

Aram	Aramaic
Cm	Centimeter
Fig	Figure
Ibid.....	In the same place
Km	Kilometer
L ^{ib}	Libyanite
Nab	SNabataean
NE	North East
No	Number
NW	North West
Op.cit.	In the work cited
Palm.....	Palmyrene
Phoen	Phoenician
Pl	Plate
Tham.....	Thamudic

Symbols

o	above letters whose reading is doubtful.
/ /	Restoration of parts now illegible or lost
XXX	Lost or unreadable letters

ARAMAIC AND NABATAEAN INSCRIPTIONS

FROM NORTH-WEST SAUDI ARABIA

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Introduction

The inscriptions in this collection have been collected mainly from the NW of Saudi Arabia. Because of its proximity to Jordan and Syria where most European explorers and scholars have concentrated their main efforts, the Northern province has for a long time attracted the attention of travellers and scholars interested in the early history of Arabia.

Thus it will be useful to review briefly the history of exploration in the area. This area was of interest to classical historians and geographers such as Strabo and Ptolemy.⁽¹⁾

In the 19th and 20th centuries European explorers such as J. Burckhardt (1828), J. Wellsted (1838),⁽²⁾ G. Wallin (1845-1848) the Swedish archaeologist,⁽³⁾ and R. Burton (1855-1878)⁽⁴⁾ focused their attention on the area. Then in 1880 the English traveller Charles

-
- (1) Ingraham, M., Johnson, Th., Rihani, B., Shatla, I., "Preliminary Report on a Reconnaissance Survey of the North Western Province", Atlat 5 (1981), p.60; for the Arab geographers see al-Wahaibi, A., The Northern Hijaz in the Writings of the Arab Geographers, 800-1150 A.D., Beirut 1973; al-Dhawayyib, A., "al-jughrafiyūn al-ʿArab wa-dawruhūm fī at-tarīf bil-jazīra al-ʿarabiyya", Studies in the History of Arabia 1, part 2 (1979), pp.285-298.
 - (2) Parr, P., "Archaeological Sources for the Early History of North-West Arabia", Studies in the History of Arabia 1, (1979), p.37; ʿabd al-Qādir, A., "al-jazīra al-ʿarabiyya fī kūtub arraḥḥāla al-gharbiyyin", Studies in the History of Arabia 1, part 2 (1979), pp.299-326.
 - (3) Wallin, G., "Notes taken During a Journey Through Part of North Arabia in 1848", Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 20 (1850), pp.293-344 (reprinted in Travels in Arabia, Cambridge 1979).
 - (4) Richard Burton was carrying out the first of his two expeditions to the Coast of Midian in search of its ancient gold mines. See R. Burton, The Land of Midian, London 1879.

SECTION ONE

Doughty, who described the antiquities of Māda'in ṣāliḥ and alʿulā,⁽¹⁾ discovered the stele of Taymā' which was moved away from Taymā' the following year during his next visit to the area with Charles Huber (1879).⁽²⁾ The stele is now held in the Louvre.

In 1884 Julius Euting visited NW Arabia and during his journey collected several Nabataean graffiti.⁽³⁾

Then, after the construction of Hijāz railroad, the area was visited by F. Maunsell (1908),⁽⁴⁾ B. Moritz (1908)⁽⁵⁾ and then by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, who produced a very distinguished work about their visit to the NW of Arabia.⁽⁶⁾ This was followed by a visit by Alois Musil in 1926.⁽⁷⁾

All of the aforementioned scholars made serious professional attempts to study the ancient history of the NW and left records which still constitute the primary source material today: the value of their work cannot be overestimated.

H. Philby's explorations of Northern Arabia in 1951-1952 led to his discovery of the temple of upper Jabel Ghunaim.⁽⁸⁾ F. Winnett and W. Reed's explorations of the north and the NW Arabia in 1962 uncovered abundant epigraphic material known previously to H. Philby,

(1) Doughty, C., Travels in Arabia Deserta, London 1924, pp.119-149.

(2) Huber, C., Journal d'un Voyage en Arabie, Paris (1883-1884), pp.319-324.

(3) Euting, J., Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien, Berlin 1885.

(4) Maunsell, F., "The Hejaz Railway", The Geographical Journal 32 (1908), pp.570-585.

(5) Moritz, B., "Ausflüge in der Arabia Petraea" Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale 3 (1908), pp.387-436.

(6) Jaussen, A., Savignac, R., Mission Archéologique en Arabie, 1, Paris 1909; Jaussen, A., Savignac, R., Mission Archéologique en Arabie, 2, Paris 1914.

(7) Musil, A., The Northern of Hejaz, New York 1926.

(8) Philby, J., The Land of Midian, London 1957.

which has been classified as Taymanite.⁽¹⁾

This area has been visited in recent years by Arab scholars such as H. al-Jāsir,⁽²⁾ A. al-Anṣārī⁽³⁾ and H. al-Qithāmī,⁽⁴⁾ whose main concern is historical points.

Important epigraphic and historical research on the Liḥyanites of NW Arabia has continued to be carried out by Dr Anṣary⁽⁵⁾ and M.al-Rawsān, who published new Thamudic inscriptions from both Jordan and the Jawf area.⁽⁶⁾

In 1968 a team including P. Parr, L. Harding and J. Dayton carried out the first systematic archaeological survey of the NW area, visiting sites mentioned previously by European travellers and scholars.⁽⁷⁾

In 1975, the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Education carried out a comprehensive programme of archaeological research designed to collect and analyze information about all kinds of surface archaeological remains. The NW region received ample attention in this programme with the first mission, in 1976, to the al-Jawf, Hā'il and Sakākah regions.⁽⁸⁾

(1) Winnett, F., Reed, W., Ancient Records from North Arabia, Toronto 1970.

(2) al-Jāsir, H., fi shamāl gharb al-jazira, al-Riyadh 1981.

(3) al-Anṣārī, Abd., bayn al-tārīkh wa-āl-athār, Beirut 1971.

(4) al-Qithāmī, H., shamāl al-ḥijāz, Jeddah 1976.

(5) Anṣary, A., A Critical and Comparative Study of Liḥyanite Personal Names, Leeds University, thesis 1966.

(6) al-Rawsān, M., al-qabā'il al-thamūdiyya wa-al-ṣafawiyya, dirasa muqaranah, al-Riyadh 1987.

(7) Parr, P., Harding, G. and Dayton, J., "Preliminary Survey in Northwestern Arabia, 1968", Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology 8-9 (1970), pp.103-242; Parr, P., Harding, G. and Dayton, J., "Preliminary Survey in Northwestern Arabia 1968", Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology 10 (1972), pp.23-61.

(8) Adams, R., Parr, P., Ibrahim, M., al-Mughannum, A., "Preliminary Report

The second season of the Northern survey took place in 1977 with the aim of retracing the route of earlier travellers and examining sites mentioned by them, visiting sites reported by local inhabitants, and surveying a cross-section of the habitats presently existing in each area.⁽¹⁾

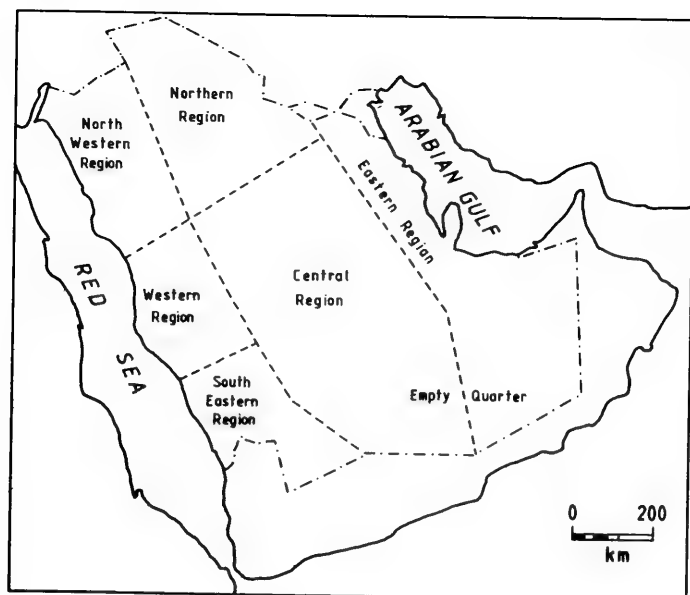
The chief aim of the Taymā' survey carried out in 1979 was to compile a preliminary archaeological plan of the site and to map the archaeological remains.⁽²⁾

In 1980, the fourth survey took place, covering the coastal-plain and Wadis on the western slope of the Ḥijāz mountains north of ʿal-Baḥr to Wadi Sharmah, the interior of Ḥijāz (Wadi al-Hamd and Jizl) north of al-Madinah, al-Buwayer to al-ʿulā, the northern of Ḥijāz, the Hisma, and the Tabūk region.⁽³⁾

This was followed by the 1981 survey which concentrated on area left unexplored by the two previous expeditions (1978-1981) to the NW area.⁽⁴⁾ In 1982 there were two missions: the first comprised a specialized survey of the ancient mining area of the NW area;⁽⁵⁾ the

on the First Phase of the Comprehensive Archaeological Survey Program", Atlat 1 (1977), pp.21-40.

- (1) Parr, P., Zarins, J., Ibrahim, M., Waechter, J., Garrard, A., Clarke, C., Bidmead, M., al-Badr, H., "Preliminary Report on the second phase of the Northern Province Survey, 1977", Atlat 2 (1978), pp.29-50.
- (2) Bawden, G., Edens, C. and Miller, R., "The Archaeological Resources of Ancient Taymā'. Preliminary Investigations at Taymā'", Atlat 4 (1980), pp.69-106.
- (3) Ingraham, M. Johnson, Th., Rihani, B. and Shatla, I., "Preliminary Report on a Reconnaissance Survey of the Northwestern Province", Atlat 5 (1981), pp.59-84.
- (4) Gilmore, M., Ibrahim, M. and Murad, A., "Preliminary Report on the Northwestern and Northern regions", Atlat 6 (1982), pp.9-23.
- (5) Zartins, J. Kabawi, A., Murad, A., Rasher, S., "Preliminary Report on the Mining Survey North-West ḥijaz, (1982), " Atlat 7 (1983), pp.76-84.



Map indicating the archaeological reconnaissance of Saudi Arabia after the comprehensive survey of the Kingdom.

second visited Taymā' in order to study new archaeological sites and log newly found inscription in the area.⁽¹⁾

In 1984, the Department of Archaeology and Museum has undertaken a specialized survey dedicated to the epigraphic programme, and this covered mainly part of Wadi Sirhān and NW Ḥijāz.⁽²⁾

In addition to this comprehensive survey, the Department of Antiquities and Museums published an introduction to the archaeology of Saudi Arabia and some aspects of its history,⁽³⁾ and the findings of Ḥ. Abu Duruk concerning some of the antiquities investigated in Taymā', including an Aramaic Text discussed by J. Segal.⁽⁴⁾

In 1981 a team comprising S. al-Rāshid, Lal-Burihiy and the present writer, along with a group of students, visited the coastal plain of Saudi Arabia collecting pottery, registering pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions and retracing the routes of earlier travellers and examining ancient sites.⁽⁵⁾

The King Sa'ūd University also published A. Nasif's work focused on the ancient waterworks in the al-ʿulā area, including the publication of some photographs of some Kufic, Thamudic and Nabataean inscriptions.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Livingstone, A., Spaie, B., Ibrahim, M., Kamal, M., Taimani, S., 'Taima: Recent Sounding and New Inscribed Material, 1982', Atlat 7 (1983), pp.102-116.

(2) Livingstone, A., Khan, Mr., Zahrani, A., Salluk, M., Shaman, S., "Epigraphic Survey, 1984", Atlat 9 (1985), pp.128-144.

(3) An Introduction to: Saudi Arabian Antiquities, by the Department of Antiquities and Museums, Ministry of Education, Saudi Arabia, Riyadh 1975.

(4) Abu Duruk, Ḥ., Introduction to the Archaeology of Taymā', Riyadh 1986.

(5) al-Theeb, S., "ḥuruq al-ḥujjāj al-qadīma fī al-saḥil al-samāli al-gharbi min al-mamlakah", Riyadh 5451 (1983), p.11.

(6) Naṣif, A., Al-ʿulā an Historical and Archaeological Survey with Spécial Reference to its Irrigation System, Riyadh: King Saud University Press, 1988.

The university also published a work done about al-ʿulā and al-Hijr, which included reconsideration of some of the Nabataean inscriptions and archaeological points which had been discussed by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac.⁽¹⁾

In 1986 A. Al-Sudayri published a book about al-Jawf, which mainly concerns the history of the area.⁽²⁾

In 1987, Kh.al-Muallkel carried out a survey concentrating on the study of Jawf region, including excavations in various sites, and also a comprehensive survey of the sites and monuments throughout the region.⁽³⁾

During the summer of 1988, I myself carried out part of my fieldwork in the NW and North⁽⁴⁾ of Saudi Arabia. My aims were threefold:

To visit the sites and places visited previously by other scholars and travellers and sites that were previously uncharted.

To register the Aramaic and Nabataean inscriptions mentioned or published previously.

To register new Aramaic⁽⁵⁾ and Nabataean⁽⁶⁾ inscriptions.

Al-ʿulā, the key to the NW of Saudi Arabia for anyone coming from

(1) Anṣary, A., Ghazāl, A., King, G., mawaqʿ athariyya wa-ṣuwar min ḥadārat al-ʿarab fī al-mamlakah al-ʿarabiyya al-saʿudiyya, al-ʿula (Dīdan), al-Hijir (Madā'in ṣāliḥ), al-Riyadh 1984.

(2) al-Sudayri, A., al-Jawf wadi al-nifakh, Sakākah and London 1986.

(3) al-Muallkel, Kh, A Critical Study of the Archaeology of the Jawf Region of Saudi Arabia with Additional Material on its History and Early Arabic Epigraphy, Durham University, thesis 1988.

(4) The northern province of Saudi Arabia is far less well provided with reliable maps and air photographs. The largest maps are those published by the United States Geological Survey in the early 1960s at 1:500,000, a scale far too small to be of use for site location. Therefore on arrival of the selected spots, surveying was carried out on foot.

(5) See part one - Aramaic inscriptions.

(6) See part two - Nabataean inscriptions.

the centre, was my first destination. There I visited archaeological sites and places around the city of al-*ʿulā* and al-*Hijir* (present day Madā'in *Ṣāliḥ*) which was an important Nabataean Commercial Centre. The large quantity of Nabataean material which can be found all over the Madā'in *Ṣāliḥ* and al-*ʿulā* area points to a significant Nabataean presence in this area. Madā'in *Ṣāliḥ* played a vital part in the Nabataean history particularly during the late Nabataean period, when the importance of Petra, to the North, started to decline.

From all the Nabataean data, concerning these two sites, al-*ʿulā* and Madā'in *Ṣāliḥ*, one may conclude that the most flourishing period of their history was the Nabataean period.

My second destination was Taymā' to the north of al-*ʿulā*. Taymā' was the provincial residence of Nabonidus (555-539 BC) during the Neo-Babylonian period. There I was able to collect information on all the Aramaic inscriptions. The data concerning Taymā' suggest that the flourishing period of its history was around 550/400 BC; surprisingly, there is no clear record of Taymā' having formed part of the Nabataean state despite the fact that they later certainly extended southwards as far as Madā'in *Ṣāliḥ*.⁽¹⁾

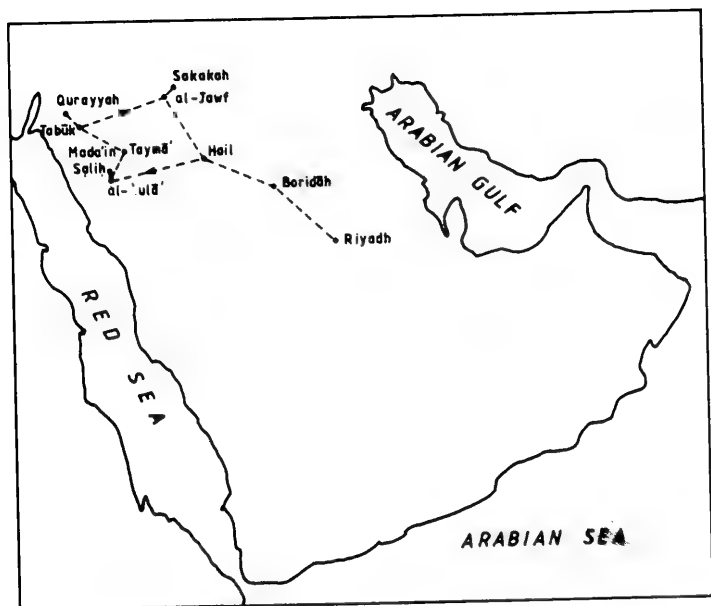
I then proceeded to Tabūk, which is the key to Arabia for anyone coming from Jordan and Syria. The importance of the trade routes which connected Southern Arabia with the North and the Nabataean data which we have concerning the Tabūk area reveal that Tabūk was an important Nabataean site but it seems not as important as Madā'in *Ṣāliḥ*.

Most of the Nabataean inscriptions mentioned in this work were found in the Tabūk area. These show that Tabūk was a Nabataean site and caravan city. My fourth port of call was al-Jawf, which is situated in centre of the north. The Wadi al-Sirḥan, which runs in

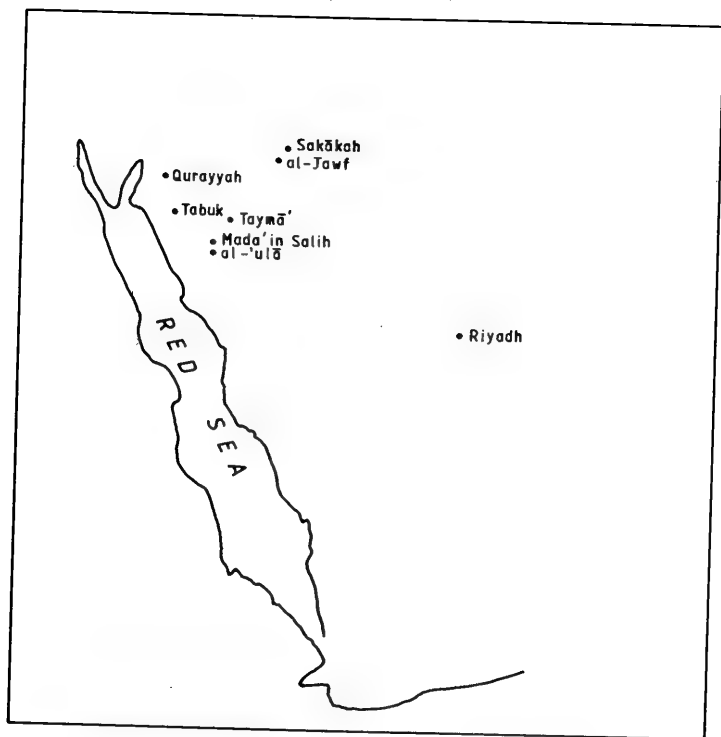
(1) However, that in our survey of Taymā' area we found a few Nabataean inscriptions in sites such as *ʿuwaynāt ʿali* and *Ḥaswat al-Salubi*, unfortunately we could not photograph them due to their state.

from Azraq in NE Jordan in a south-easterly direction down to al-Jawf, is an important feature of the area. According to the data we have about the Jawf area, it seems that al-Jawf played a role similar to that of Tabūk.

The importance of the trade route, which connected the South Arabia with the North and the importance of these cities for the caravan trade, probably brought about Nabataean domination over the North Arabia Oases. Their data indicate that the Nabataeans made good use of these Oases and cities as stations and caravan centres, with the exception of Madā'in Ṣāliḥ, for their traders who travelled along these routes. We should not neglect the important role of the Wadi al-Sirḥān which provided an effective route for conveying goods from South Arabia as well as from the ports in the eastern part of the Arabian peninsula.



Map indicating the route followed during the present writer's fieldwork. as is shown by the map the route was Riyadh-Boridah-Hail-'ula-Mada'in Salih-Tayma-Tabuk-Sakakah-Jawf-Hail-Boridah-Riyadh.



Map showing some of the most important archaeological sites of NW of Saudi Arabia.

SECTION TWO

I. Introduction

The Aramaeans can be considered as one of the various groups of Semites,⁽¹⁾ who migrated into the Fertile Crescent.⁽²⁾ The Bible mentions that the Aramaeans are descended from Aram, the Son of Sem, Son of Noah.⁽³⁾ Since the name is mentioned in different sources as a place-name⁽⁴⁾ and also as a personal name,⁽⁵⁾ it is difficult to tell whether it was initially a personal name or a geographical one. ^cAbdalhaq Faḍal⁽⁶⁾ has a theory concerning Aram. Faḍal believes that the name Aram is quite simply coterminous with the name ^carab. He points out that during the Akkadian era, the Aramaeans migrated to the north of Arabia looking for a new land and a new life. When they arrived there they inherited fixtures from the preceding nations such as the system of writing. He postulates that when the Akkadians used the Sumerian signs which did not allow for ^c they replaced it with Hamzah; therefore he concludes that ^carab became Aram in writing.

In his article he provides some evidence to attempt to substantiate his claim. For example, when a non-^carab tried to pronounce the

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- (1) The earliest Semitic migration was the Akkadian one which began in the fourth or fifth millennium BC. The Akkadian language stands apart from the other Semitic languages which have less in common with it than with each other. It was the first to branch out from the common tree.
 - (2) Bowman, R., "Aramaeans, Aramaic and the Bible", Journal of Near Eastern Studies 7 (1948), p.67; Olmstead, A., History of Palestine and Syria, New York 1931, p.195; Malamat, A., "The Aramaeans", People of Old Testament Times, p.134; Healey, J., "Were the Nabataeans Arabs?", forthcoming.
 - (3) See Genesis 22:24, 26. The Bible is one of the important sources about the Aramaeans.
 - (4) See Isaiah 22:6; Genesis 29:1; Holy Qur'ān al-Faḡr 7, 8. Aram is mentioned as a place name as early as the twenty-third century, in the Akkadian, Egyptian and Assyrian sources. For more detail see Malamat, op.cit., pp.134-137; Albright, W., "Syria, the Philistines, and Phoenicia", The Cambridge Ancient History 2 (1975), pp.532-533.
 - (5) Mari texts (eighteenth century BC) and at Ugarit (fourteenth century BC).
 - (6) Faḍal, A., "^carabi, 'arami, 'ibri", Sumer 14 (1958), pp.180-188.

letter ħ he would pronounce it as a light vowel (a).

However, all the evidence he mentions actually works against his theory. The word *carab* consists of three consonants: ħ, r and b vocalised with two vowels; short a between the first and second letters. Therefore if non ħarab try to pronounce ħarab, their pronunciation would not undergo a great change save for ħ which was replaced with Hamzah in pronunciation, but not in writing. What then is the similarity between ħarab and Aram. In fact there is none. Aram consists of three consonant letters: ' , r and m; m does not exist in the word ħarab, the b of which does not appear in Aram. Thus they are entirely different words.

In the middle of the second millennium the North Arabian desert was inhabited by certain tribal groups, all of whom were Semites by race. These various groups gradually moved out of the desert during the second half of the millennium. Aramaean invaders appeared in Babylonia, crossed the Euphrates into Mesopotamia and penetrated central Syria and Canaan.⁽¹⁾

By the time of Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (1116-1076 BC) the Aramaeans had already become a numerous people residing in the middle Euphrates region as far as west as Syria.⁽²⁾ In one of Tiglath-Pileser I's inscriptions,⁽³⁾ there is reference to the compound

(1) Abūnaā, A., a dāb al-lughah al-ārāmiyya, Beirut 1970, p.13; Wilfinson, A., tarikh al-lughah al-sania, Beirut 1980, p.116; Moscati, S., Ancient Semitic Civilizations, London 1957, p.167; Olinstead, op.cit., p.195; Healey, "Were the Nabataeans Arabs?" forthcoming.

(2) Malamat, op.cit., p.135; Bowman, op.cit., pp.66-67.

(3) "For the twenty-eighth time, I crossed the Euphrate in pursuit of the Ahlamē Aramaeans, the second time in one year from Tadmor of Amurrā, Annat of Suti even to Rapiqu of Karduniash. I defeated them, their booty and their gods, I carried away to my city Assur." See Bowman, op.cit., p.66; Dupont-Sommer, A., Les Aramæens, translated into Arabic by A. Abūnā in Sumer 19 (1963), p.99.

name Aḥlamu-Aramaya and to Suti.⁽¹⁾ The majority of scholars interested in this subject think this compound name is associated with the Aḥlamu and the Aramaean; it is widely believed that the Suti and Aḥlamu, at an earlier period, were the forerunner of the Aramaeans.⁽²⁾

From the time of the first Babylonian dynasty and the Mari letters, cuneiform sources referred to a people called the Suti.⁽³⁾ According to the Akkadian sources, they appeared in Mesopotamia⁽⁴⁾ and their settled home was Sumer before they migrated westward in the succeeding centuries.⁽⁵⁾ Then occasionally the name is mentioned with Aḥlame or Aḥlamu in the form Suti-Aḥlame indicating that they are close relatives. Then gradually the name Suti began to decline and references became fewer.⁽⁶⁾ At this point the name Aḥlamu⁽⁷⁾ had begun to appear frequently.

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- (1) There is an Assyrian text from the time of Ashur-bel-Kala, which mentioned all three groups the Sutians, the Aḥlamu and the Aramaeans (see C. Davis, The Aramaean Influence upon Ancient Israel to 732 BC, thesis, Michigan 1979, p.8.
- (2) O'Callaghan, R., Aram Naharaim, Rome 1948, p.93; Dupont Sommer, op.cit., p.100.
- (3) Bowman, op.cit., p.67; Olmstead, op.cit., pp.169-181; Kraeling, E., Aram and Israel, New York 1966, p.14. Akizze King of Qatan had been loyal to Egypt. He mentions in one of his inscriptions that he will go out against the enemy with his warriors, chariots and brothers and others, his mercenary Habiru and Suti; in addition, the name Sutu occurs in a letter from the time of Hammurapi. In this letter a trader who had been imprisoned for embezzlement protests his innocence and places the blame upon the Suti who have attacked and robbed his (see Kraeling, op.cit., p.14; O'Callaghan, op.cit., p.94.
- (4) Barton, G., Semitic and Hamitic Origins Social and Religious, London 1934, p.81.
- (5) Jalab, M., "al-tārīkh al-siyāsi lilarāmiyyin", Studies in the Ancient Syrian Civilizations (1973), p.4; Kraeling, op.cit., p.14.
- (6) During the time of Tukulti-Ninurta (1133 BC) until the time of Sargon II (705 BC) the name Suti disappeared. Although we do not know the reason for this, it is perhaps related to the political circumstances. The reason for Assyrians' boycott of the name is unknown one possible reason is that Suti were loyal to Egypt. Therefore they did not mention the Suti in their records until these circumstances ended.

The earliest reference of Aḫlamu began with the fourteenth century BC in the Amarna letters and in Babylonian texts from Dilmun.⁽¹⁾

Later on, from the twelfth to the ninth century BC the name Aḫlamu appears associated with Aramaeans in the expression Aramaean-Aḫlamu, which mentioned from the time of Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (1116-1076 BC). The Assyrian kings Adad-Nirar II and Ashur-Nasir-Apli II around the tenth-ninth centuries BC refer to compound Aḫlame-Aramaya.⁽²⁾ In one of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 BC), we read that he sent to Syria 12,000 Aḫlamu Aramaeans from Zab River region east of the Tigris, 600 of the Damunu tribe taken in the city Amlate.⁽³⁾

It has been commonly established that the Aramaeans were part of the Semitic people. Thus if we can pinpoint the origin of the Semites we will also be able to clear up the ambiguity surrounding the Aramaeans. The most acceptable theory forwarded by several scholars is that the Semitic people migrated from Arabia as A. Sayce (as quoted by G.

(7) The etymology of Aḫlamu is hard to determine since they occur in Cuneiform documents. Aḫlmu is maybe a broken plural formation based on the singular qīl form as the Arabic ḥilm, plural ahlam meaning "allies", therefore it was suggested, then, that the Aramaeans were simply one part of this confederation (see Kraeling, op.cit., p.18; O'Callaghan, op.cit., p.95; Dupont-Sommer, op.cit., p.100). This idea, however, was challenged by S. Moscati, "The Aramaean Aḫlamu", Journal of Semitic Studies 4 (1959), pp.304-307, who argued that the Akkadian word Aḫlamu, pl. Aḫlamu, is not related to Arabic hilm at all. He pointed out that the Arabic broken plural of hilm, which is Ahlam has long second ā while this is not the case for the Akkadian word. However, the name Aḫlamu mentioned in one of Hattusil inscriptions (a Hittite King) who claims that the Aḫlamu made the route through the Kingdom insecure because of the attack along the Euphrates, (see Kraeling, op.cit., p.18; Dupont-Sommer, op.cit., p.98).

(1) Ismāʿīl, F., luḡhat nuqūsh al-mamālīk al-arāmiyya, Aleppo 1984, p.2; Bowman, op.cit., p.67; The two Babylonian letters show the Aḫlamu as nomadic invaders from the desert (see Davis, op.cit., p.8).

(2) O'Callaghan, op.cit., p.95; Malamet, op.cit., p.135; Barton, op.cit., p.81.

(3) Bowman, op.cit., p.72. The area where the Aramaeans lived, its importance, challenge and struggle to control and dominate this area led the Aramaeans to amalgamate with different people in various ways. This created great difficulty in distinguishing them.

Bortan) writes "The Semitic traditions all point to Arabia as the original home of the race. It is the only part of the world which has remained exclusively Semitic."⁽¹⁾ The third great Semitic migration was that of the Aramaeans who may have started from the highland region of the Nagd in inner Arabia.⁽²⁾

Development into City State

The rise of the Aramaeans was facilitated by the weakness of the Mittannians. Around 1200 BC the Aramaeans made use of a golden opportunity when the people of the sea attacked and assaulted the near eastern area. The atmosphere became conducive to the creation of some city-states in the area which was previously dominated by the Hittites, such as *šm^cal*, north of Syria. The great onset of the sea peoples which shattered Ugarit and the Hittite power in Syria paved the way for the Aramaeans possession. The conditions in Egypt were not better than elsewhere especially after the death of Tuthmsis III.⁽³⁾ In addition to this the conditions among the nations in Iraq were the same varying between strength and weakness because of the wars between them and also because of a weak internal situation in Assur after the death of Tiglith-Pileser, around 1012-972 BC when the Assyrians reached their nadir.⁽⁴⁾

Consequently the climax of the Aramaean threat against these

(1) Barton, op.cit., p.5.

(2) Kraeling, op.cit., p.13. But, however, some scholars think that they migrated from the fringes of the Syro-Arabian desert although it is sometimes held that they came from the north, (see Malamat, op.cit., p.134, Albright, op.cit., p.530). Others, according to the Bible believe that the Aramaeans originated from a land called Kir, which is a region near Elam (see Amos 9:7) /... Did not I, who brought Israel out of the land of Egypt, bring the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Aramaeans from Kir/.

(3) Ism^šil, op.cit., p.3. As we understand from Tell-el-Amarna, one of these letters mentions that the Aḫlame (Aḫlamu) began to invade and infiltrate the area of Syria.

(4) Dupont-Sommer, op.cit., pp.96-154.

nations and the power in the west were severely curtailed.⁽¹⁾ Thus the Aramaeans established their own cities and states.

Because most of the Aramaean states were situated between the two great civilizations of that time, the Egyptian and the Assyrian empires, it is immediately apparent that the southern sector would lie chiefly within the sphere of Egypt's influence while the northern sector would be controlled by the cultural forces of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.

The Aramaeans established many cities and states, spread a large area. Every city had its own ruler, which made the Aramaean states small and feeble.⁽²⁾ Consequently this pushed and forced the great empires of the time to try to subjugate and control this area. In addition we should not ignore the fact that disagreements, disputes and wars between the Aramaean states made their position very weak. So, why did they not live together in unity? It seems that the reason behind the disunity may go back to the powerful nations around them as well as the tribal system which they refused to abandon.

Therefore we can classify the ancient Aramaean kingdoms into three major groups according to their geographical distribution in Syria as follows:

- (1) NE: which contains Bit-Adini, Bit-Zamani and Bahuani.
- (2) NW: which contains ṣm'al and Bit-Agushi.
- (3) Middle and South: Hamath, Zobah, Damascus and Bit-Rehob, although there were a lot of small Aramaean states around Syria.⁽³⁾

(1) In addition, the Aramaeans of Damascus exploited the quarrel and altercation between Israel and Juda. The Bible records the vital 300 years long relationship both friendly and hostile between the two people by commemorating events such as the war against Zobah and Beth-Rehob in Ismael 14:47 and Ismael 8:3. An example of the friendly relations between the Hebrew and Aramaean states appears in 2 Samuel 8:9, 10.

(2) The location of some of the Aramaean states were strategic and important, therefore they were able to control several important routes, such as Bit-Adini which occupied a strategic position on the great highway from Harran to Syria.

(3) For more details, in this point see Malamat, op.cit., pp.141-146; Dupont-Sommer, op.cit., pp.100-118; Davis, op.cit., pp.9-18; Isma'îl, op.cit., pp.3-17; Sader, H., Les États Araméens de Syrie, depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur transformation en provinces Assyriennes, Beirut 1987.

If we study the manifestations of the archaeology of the Aramaean people which have been discovered they indicate that these culturalelements were simply borrowed and derived from other nations. They made use of what the Mitannians and the Hittites left. The foreign influence of Hittite and Assyrian art can be seen for example in their sculpture.⁽¹⁾ The Aramaean were strongly influenced by the specific local environment. However, as H. Frankfort writes that "under the stimulus of Assyrian examples that North Syria art arose and it flourished most in the reigns of kings who had come in terms with the Assyrians and were allowed a limited degree of independence and most of its trappings. When, sooner or later, such rulers aspired to effective freedom, they were destroyed, Assyrian military governors took command, and there was no further production of North Syrian art."⁽²⁾

The religious life of the Aramaeans is evident only from a few historical texts and treaties. The Aramaean were readily influenced by their adopted surrounding. Thus many foreign deities appeared in Aramaean inscriptions such as the Mesopotamian Shamash,⁽³⁾ Marduk,⁽⁴⁾

(1) For instance, in Tell-Halaf (Guzana) the Archaeologists discovered a collection of statues and tiles decorated with relief engraving where the Mittanians influence is clearly manifested, and also in Zengirli some of the items, were found with a Hittite and Assyrian influence, for more details see H. Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, edited by N. Pevsner, London 1954, pp.175-188.

(2) Frankfort, *ibid*, p.166.

(3) Shamash occurs in several inscriptions such as the Hadad inscription see Gibson, TSSI, 13:2 and in Panammu inscription (see Gibson TSSI 14:22). He was worshipped throughout the Semitic world known among the Summerians as Utu. Shamash is the sun god, his symbol was a disc around with a star of four points. He is characterized by flames sprouting from his shoulders (see Delaporte, L., Mesopotamia, the Babylonian and Assyrian Civilization, London 1925, p.139.

(4) Marduk is the deity of Babylon with his consorts Sarpanitu and Nabu are both found together in Ashurnirari's treaty. Marduk is mentioned in several Aramaic inscriptions including the Sefire inscription (see Gibson, TSSI,

Nergal⁽¹⁾ and Sin⁽²⁾ and the Canaanite Ba'al Shemayin,⁽³⁾ Resher⁽⁴⁾ and Melgart⁽⁵⁾ appear in Aramaean inscriptions. But the most important deity was Hadad. He was the ancient West Semitic storm god. Hadad was worshipped in Damascus where there was built a temple for Hadad.⁽⁶⁾ The influence of Hadad upon the Aramaeans of Damascus was great. Several of the names of their kings included it in their title which became clear in Benhadad and Hadadezer.⁽⁷⁾

Under Adad-Nirāri II (911-891 BC) we have a well-preserved account of the operations against the Aramaeans which occupied much of the King's reign. These campaigns continued in the time of his successors including Shalmaneser III (782-772 BC), Ashur-Dān (772-754 BC) and Ashur-Nirāri (754-745 BC).⁽⁸⁾

Tiglath-Pileser III crushed Aram-Damascus once and for all in his campaigns of 733 and 732 BC.⁽⁹⁾ The period which marked the end

7A:8).

- (1) Nergal also occurs in Sefire inscription. Nergal is the god of battle and pestilence and death, and was worshipped by the Phoenicians at Piraeus (see Cooke, NSI, p.101).
- (2) Sin is the moon-god, his symbol was the crescent moon. At Ur he was worshipped under the name of Nanna. His cult was diffused throughout the Aramaean countries (see Delaporte, op.cit., p.139; Gibson, TSSI, p.36).
- (3) Ba'al Shemayin is the cloud, storm and rain god, and has the same function as Hadad. Ba'al is a patron of the royal family and occurs in Zakir inscription (see Gibson, TSSI, 5A:3).
- (4) Resher was the Syrian god of pestilence who was also worshipped at Carthage. He was equated by the Greeks with Apollo. This deity was mentioned in Aramaic inscriptions including the Zenjirli inscription (see Gibson, TSSI, 13:2).
- (5) Melgart is mentioned in Barhadad inscription. Melgart was equated by the Greeks with Hercules (see Gibson, TSSI, p.4).
- (6) Cooke NSI, p.164, Gibson TSSI 7iA:36:38; 13:1:2.
- (7) Davis, op.cit., pp.48-49.
- (8) Dupont-Sommer, op.cit., pp.118-119.
- (9) Malamat, op.cit., p.146; Dupont-Sommer, op.cit., p.125; Pitard, W., Ancient

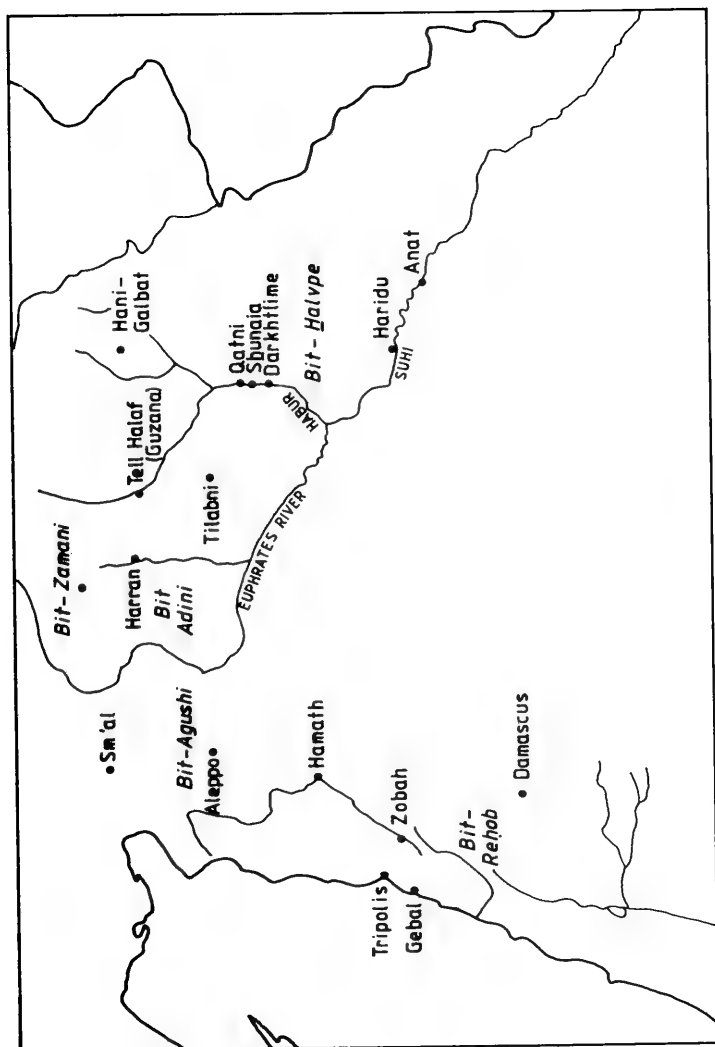
of Aramaean political independence was the beginning of their cultural and linguistic influence throughout the Near East.⁽¹⁾

The Aramaic language flourished in the region and among the other nations such as the Assyrians, who used Aramaic as their diplomatic and commercial language as a lingua Franca as the Persians did at a later date.⁽²⁾

Damascus, An Historical Study of the Syrian City-State from Earliest Times until its Fall to the Assyrians in 732 BC, Indiana 1987, p.189.

(1) Malamet, op.cit., pp.134-139; Bowman, op.cit., pp.71-75.

(2) Healey, "Were the Nabataeans Arabs?", forthcoming. Part of the difficulty in the study of Aramaic lies in the fact that the language is not definitely tied to any one national or ethnic group. Most of the old Aramaic in our possession was not written by Aramaeans but by Assyrians and Persians, and Jews who used to write in Aramaic and Arabs who used to write in Nabataean. This too exacerbates the problem we have in revealing anything useful or definite about the Aramaeans as a tribe or state.



A Map showing some of the Aramaean states

II. The Aramaic Languages

Aramaic was the language of diplomacy and administration used in the Assyrian, neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid empires. Because of its simplicity and flexibility Aramaic became the lingua Franca of the Achaemenid empire and rapidly supplanted Akkadian,⁽¹⁾ and later became the official language of the Persian Empire. Aramaic also became the principal tongue of traders over an area from Egypt and Asia Minor to India.⁽²⁾ The Seleucids introduced Greek as their official language from around 323 BC when the Achaemenid empire collapsed. This in effect made Aramaic more a spoken than a written language.

At the same time Aramaic regained vitality and developed into different local dialects, in the various small states such as Palmyra, Petra, Edessa and Hatra. These dialects succeeded the Imperial Aramaic of the Achaemenid empire.⁽³⁾ Aramaic is one of the North-West Semitic group of languages. This group also includes Amorite, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Hebrew and Moabite. The oldest written text in Aramaic dates back to the early part of the first Millennium BC found in Tell-Fekheriye.⁽⁴⁾ Aramaic was influenced initially by Akkadian.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Mamalat, op.cit., pp.147-148; Beyer, K., The Aramaic Language, translated by J. Healey, Göttingen 1986, pp.10-14; Cooke, op.cit., p.1; Ismacil, op.cit., p.20.

(2) Diringier, D., The Alphabet, A Key of History of Mankind, London 1968, p.134; Gaur, A., A History of Writing, London 1984, pp.91-92.

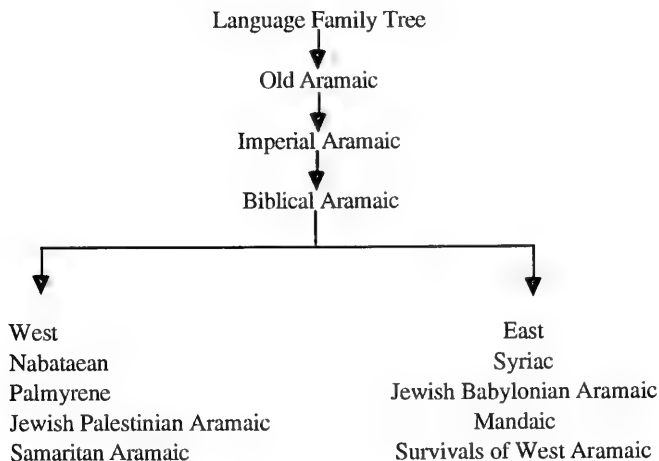
(3) al-Jadir, A., A Comparative Study of the Script, Language and Proper Names of the Old Syriac Inscriptions, University of Wales, Ph.D thesis, 1983, p.6.

(4) Abou-Assaf, A., Bordreuil, P., Millard, A., La Statue de Tell-Fekheriye et Son Inscription Bilingue Assyro-Araméenne, Paris 1982, pp.23-37.

(5) For more details see S. Kaufman, The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic, Chicago 1974.

From the 5th century BC by Persian and from the 3rd century BC onwards by Greek and Hebrew especially in Palestine.⁽¹⁾

As a written language, Aramaic passed through several major phases, the exact distinguishing features of which have still not been agreed upon by scholars in the field, although one mode of classification divides it into old, western and Eastern Aramaic.⁽²⁾



- (1) Old Aramaic: refers to the most ancient inscriptions originating mainly in greater Syria and belonging to the period between the 10th or 9th and the 8th centuries BC.⁽³⁾

(1) Beyer, op.cit., p.14.

(2) Moscati, S., An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, Wiesbaden 1964, p.10; Wilkinson, op.cit., p.117, Beyer, ibid, pp.10-55; Kutscher, E., "Aramaic", Current Trends in Linguistics 6 (1970), pp.347-348.

(3) Abūnaā, op.cit., p.4; Beyer, op.cit., pp.10-11; for more information about

- (2) Imperial Aramaic: occasionally called classical Aramaic⁽¹⁾ or official or Reichsaramaisch,⁽²⁾ this was the language employed in the Assyrian, Babylonian and Achaemenid empires.⁽³⁾ The area of influence also covered western India, Anatolia and Arabia, especially the north west, and Egypt. Imperial Aramaic was used mostly around the second half of the eighth to the fourth centuries BC, as the Lingua Franca throughout the Near East.⁽⁴⁾ As Beyer says when describing the inscriptions of this period "the script and language of Imperial Aramaic are so unified that the place of origin of a text is only betrayed by the frequency of Persian, Egyptian, Anatolian, Akkadian or Indic loanwords and names or alternatively by mistakes or infelicities of language which show, as in the inscriptions from Asia Minor and Northern India, that Aramaic is not the mother-tongue of the writer."⁽⁵⁾
- (3) Biblical Aramaic includes Ezra 4:8-6:18 and 7:12 (documents from the Achaemenid period); Dan 2:4-7:28.⁽⁶⁾ This kind of Aramaic may belong to the period from the fifth to the second centuries

the material of this period see Kutscher, *ibid*, pp.348-355; R. Degen, Altaramaische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10-8 JH.v.CHR., Wiesbaden 1969; Segert, S., Altaramäische Grammatik, Leipzig 1975.

- (1) Moscati, *op.cit.*, p.11.
 (2) al-Jadir, *op.cit.*, p.7; Kutscher, *op.cit.*, p.361.
 (3) Beyer, *op.cit.*, p.14.
 (4) Brockelmann, C., Semitische sprachwissenschaft, translated into Arabic by R. Abdeltawab, Riyadh 1977, p.22; Beyer, *op.cit.*, p.14; al-Jadir, *op.cit.*, p.7; Kutscher, *op.cit.*, pp.361-372.
 (5) Beyer, *op.cit.*, p.18.
 (6) In addition Jer 10:11; Gen. 31:47, see Rosenthal, F., A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, Wiesbaden 1983, p.5; Johns, A., A Short Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, Michigan 1972.

BC.⁽¹⁾ Biblical Aramaic was written by men from different social strata and representing different literary genres.⁽²⁾

West Aramaic

- (1) Nabataean was the West Aramaic language of the Arab people established around Petra, south of the Dead Sea between Northern Arabia and Sinai. The Nabataean inscriptions discussed in this thesis were found in Northern Arabia. This language flourished from the first century BC to the third century AD.⁽³⁾ Nabataean writing has been identified as far afield as Greece and Italy.⁽⁴⁾
- (2) Palmyrene is the language of the predominantly Arab people who established a state at Palmyra, NE of Damascus around an oasis in the Syrian desert.⁽⁵⁾ It flourished between the first century BC and the third century AD.⁽⁶⁾
- (3) Jewish Palestinian Aramaic this language was employed at the time of Christ and during the first centuries of the Christian era.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Moscati, op.cit., p.11.

(2) Rosenthal, op.cit., p.5.

(3) Cantineau, J., Le Nabatéen, Paris 1930; Brockelmann, op.cit., p.23; Moscati, op.cit., p.11.

(4). Moscati, op.cit., p.5.

(5). Wilfinson, op.cit., p.127; Crouch, D., Palmyra, Los Angeles, thesis, 1969, pp.6-7.

(6) Cantineau, J., Grammaire du palmyrénien Épigraphique, Cairo 1935; Stark, J., Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions, Oxford 1971; Brockelman, op.cit., p.23; Wilfinson, op.cit., p.128.

(7) Stevenson, W., Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, Oxford 1924; Dalman, A., Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch, Leipzig 1905; al-Jadir, op.cit., p.8.

- (4) Samaritan Aramaic this was the language of the Samaritan Targum to the Pentateuch among other genres. It dates back to the fourth century AD.⁽¹⁾
- (5) Christian Palestinian Aramaic this is the language used between the fifth and eighth centuries AD by the Malkites.⁽²⁾
- (6) Some remnants of West Aramaic are still spoken in the villages of Ma^c lula ,⁽³⁾ ġubb^cadin and Ba^hca in Syria.⁽⁴⁾

East Aramaic

- (1) Syriac originated in Edessa and was instrumental in the development of a rich Christian literature extending from the third to thirteenth centuries AD. After the Islamic conquest Syriac continued to flourish, though Arabic was the language of the dominant culture. It was not until the thirteenth century AD that Syriac was generally replaced as a spoken language by Arabic.⁽⁵⁾
- (2) Jewish Babylonian Aramaic this was the language prominently represented in the Babylonian Talmud written by the Babylonian

(1). Brockelmann, op.cit., p.25.

(2) Schulthess, F., Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinische Aramäisch, Tübingen 1924.

(3) Which I visited last summer during my fieldwork, I met several people who were able to speak this Aramaic dialect.

(4) Florence, K., A Comparative Lexicon of Three Modern Aramaic Dialects, Washington 1983; Moscati, op.cit., pp.12-13; Brockelmann, op.cit., pp.27-28.

(5) Nöldeke, Th., Compendious Syriac Grammar, London 1904; Healey, J., First Studies in Syriac, Birmingham 1980; Robinson, Th., Paradigms and Exercises in Syriac Grammar, Oxford 1978.

Jews from the fourth to sixth centuries AD.⁽¹⁾

- (3) Mandaic this was the language of the Gnostic sect of the Mandaeans who flourished in Mesopotamia from the third to the eighth century. AD⁽²⁾
- (4) Survivals of East Aramaic are still spoken in the neighbourhood of late Urmia, of Ṭurʿabdin and near Mosul.⁽³⁾

(1) Epstein, J., Grammar of Babylonian Aramaic, Jerusalem (in Hebrew) 1960.

(2) Nöldeke, Th., Mändäische Grammatik, Darmstadt 1964; Macuch, R., Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic, Berlin 196

⁽³⁾ Moscati, op.cit., 12-13; Brockelmann, op.cit., pp.27-28.

III. Aramaic Inscriptions

Previously known Aramaic inscriptions from Taymā' include:

- (1) The stele discovered in 1879, and first published by Th. Nöldeke, SPAW, 1884, henceforth referred to as the Louvre Stele. This has been repeatedly discussed and published: CISii 113 with large and clear photographs; G. Cooke, NSI, No:69; J. Koopmans, Chrest No:45; H. Donner and W. Röllig, KAI, No:228, J. Gibson, TSSI, No:30 and photo pl.IX; and republished recently by B. Aggoula, Syria 62 (1985), pp.61-76 (and for more early references see CISii, p.108).
- (2) An inscribed pedestal also published by Th. Nöldeke, SPAW, 1884; and subsequently republished as CISii 114 with a photograph, as well as by G. Cooke, NSI, No:70; J. Koopmans, Chrest, No:50; and H. Donner and W. Röllig, KAI, No:229.
- (3) A fragment of what was probably a building inscription ending in a dedication. The inscription was published as CISii 115 and a photograph appears in CISii. The inscription is discussed by H. Donner and W. Röllig, KAI, No:30.
- (4) Two inscriptions of which drawings are included as illustrations in Ch. Doughty, Documents Epigraphiques Recueillis dans le Nord de l'Arabie, pl.XXVII. One of these is recognizable the same as the drawing published by J. Euting, Nab, p.9-10; and republished as CISii 116.
- (5) An inscription first published by F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, Die Araber in der Alten Welt (1968), pp.74-75; and later republished and clarified by J. Segal, Iraq 31 (1969), pp.170-173 and again by F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, Christentum am Roten Meer 2 (1973), p.243; and by R. Degen, NESE2 (1974), pp.84-85.
- (6) A funeral stele of which a photograph is published by F. Altheim

- and R. Stiehl, Die Araber in der Alten Welt, (1968), p.75; and by R. Degen, NESE2 (1974), pp.87-88.
- (7) A somewhat effaced funeral stele published by F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum (1970), p.141; and discussed by R. Degen, NESE2 (1974), p.88.
- (8) A funeral stele published by F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum (1970) p.141; and discussed by R. Degen, NESE2 (1974), p.90.
- (9) Two ostraca probably from Taymā', studied by J. Starcky (see Jamme, OA9 (1970), p.133); and reconsidered by R. Degen, NESE2 (1974), p.91.
- (10) The stele discovered in the course of the excavations of the Department of Antiquities and Museums, Riyadh in Taymā' (1979). A photograph of the stele was published in Atlat 3 (1979), p.1.49a and b and Atlat 4 (1980), pl.69 and it was studied by J. Segal (see Abu-Duruk, Introduction to the Archaeology of Taymā', Riyadh 1986, pp.61-66); it was then published by A. Livingstone and others in Atlat 7 (1983), pp.108-109; and by B. Aggoula, Syria 62 (1985), pp.66-68; and by F. Cross, CBQ48 (1986), pp.387-394; and again by K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, ZDMG137 (1987), pp.286-288. This inscription is restudied in our Corpus of texts as inscription No:11.
- (11) A basin carved from stone studied by A. Livingstone and others, Atlat 7 (1983), pp.105-106; and by B. Aggoula, Syria 62 (1985), pp.65-66; and recently by K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, ZDMG 137 (1987), p.291. This inscription is restudied in our Corpus of texts as inscription No:1.
- (12) A stele bearing a carved inscription published by A. Livingstone and others, Atlat 7 (1983), p.106; and republished by K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, ZDMG 137 (1987), p.288. This inscription

is restudied in our corpus of texts as inscription No:2.

- (13) A stele bearing a carved inscription published by A. Livingstone and others, *Atlat* 7 (1983), p.107; republished by K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, *ZDMG* 137 (1987), p.288. This inscription is restudied in our corpus of texts as inscription No:3.
- (14) A stele bearing a carved inscription published by A. Livingstone and others, *Atlat* 7 (1983), p.107; and republished by K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, *ZDMG* 137 (1987), p.289.
- (15) A stele bearing a carved inscription published by A. Livingstone and others, *Atlat* 7 (1983), p.107; and republished by K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, *ZDMG* 137 (1987), pp.289-290.
- (16) An engraver's practice block, published by A. Livingstone and others, *Atlat* 7 (1983), p.108, and republished by K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, *ZDMG* 137 (1987), p.290. These two inscriptions are restudied in our corpus of texts as inscription Nos:4A-4B.
- (17) An Aramaic inscription published in *Atlat* 9 (1985, p.1.68) photograph only. The inscription was discovered in the course of the Department's excavations in Taymā' in 1984 at Qasr-al-Ḥamra. Now Aramaic inscriptions were found in Taymā' during my survey there in the summer of 1987:
 - (a) Inscriptions Nos: 5; 6; 8; 9 and 10 were found in Taymā' city, the industrial area, by the local inhabitants. These inscriptions were given to me by the local museums in Taymā'.
 - (b) Inscription No:7 was found also in the industrial area during our survey in this area.

Inscription No.1

(Plate I)*

Atlat 7 (1983), pp.105-106; ZDMG 137 (1987), pp.290-291; Syria 62 (1985), pp.65-66.

Text

hgr' dy qrb 'hb w pwmw bny htm
h lmnwh 'Tht 'Tht' Ihyy npsh w np
š 'hrth l'lm

Translation

Stone which 'hb and pwmw sons of htmh dedicated to Manwah, the goddess of goddesses for the life of his soul and the soul of his posterity for ever.

Commentary

This Aramaic inscription is carved on a stone measuring 54 by 31cm on the top and 27 by 50cm on the bottom, with a thickness of 2.25cm and a depth of 15.5cm. This item, which is now on display in the

Taymā' local museum, was discovered in Taymā' coated in tar on farmland currently in use. The inscription carved in the stone consists of just three lines: its letters are well written and the proposed reading shown above is quite certain, save for the fourth word, line 1, which is difficult to decipher.

Line 1-2: the first word is hgr', a masculine singular noun emphatic form meaning "stone". It has also been explained as an "enclosure" (see A. Livingstone Atlat 7 (1983) p.105), hgr, "stone", appears in other Aramaic inscriptions (see CIS 3914 :4; DISO, p.82). Then comes the well known Semitic particle dy, "which", "that". The shape of the final y, dates back to around the 6th or 5th century BC (see Cooke, NSI, pl.XIII). The Aramaic verb qrb come next, third person

* Copies of the Aramaic inscriptions can be found at the end of this thesis. The figure numbers correspond to the inscription numbers.

masculine singular perfect, "offered", "dedicated", occurs in Aramaic (see I. Rabinowitz JNES15 (1956), p.2; Cowl 30:28, 31:27; DISO p.264). This is followed by the most obscure part of the inscription: the letters can just be made out as 'b^h w pwmw bny,⁽¹⁾ "'h^b and pwmw sons of". Alongside these words appear the letters h^hmh which form a personal name that occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as h^hm (see Harding, Index, p.193). This is followed by the word which could be read as lmnwh, a compound of the well known Semitic preposition l, "for", "to", and the name of the well known pre-Islamic deity Manat 𐤌𐤍𐤗 which is mentioned in the Qur'ān (see 53:20). The chief centre of the cult of Manat was in Qudaia a stopping-place on the pilgrim road between Madinah and Makkah (see Cooke, NSI, p.219, Ibn al.Kalbi, p.13). Then comes the noun, 'lht, "goddess", feminine construct singular. The shape of the first ' in 'lht is similar to the Nabataean '. But the shape of ' which occurs in the personal name 'h^b is similar to the Aramaic shape of '. This is followed by the plural noun, in the emphatic state 'lht', "the goddesses", which occurs in other Aramaic inscriptions (see J. Segal, Iraq 31 (1969), p.172). This is followed by h^hyy, a compound of the preposition l, "for", and the masculine, construct plural noun h^hyy, "life", which appears in other Aramaic inscriptions (see G. Driver, PEQ, (1938), p.189, Cooke, NSI, 70:4, DISO p.87).

Line 2-3: Then comes the noun npšh formed of npš, "soul", feminine singular with the masculine third person singular suffix, "his", to give npšh, "his soul", which occurs in other Aramaic (see CISii 114:4; Cooke, NSI, 70:4; Gibson, TSSI, 33:3; Koopmans, Chrest, 50:4; Donner and Röllig, KAI, 229; DISO, p.183). Then comes the word which can be read 'hrth'. The shape of the ' is similar to that carved in 'h^b' (line 1) 'hrth' is feminine, singular, noun meaning "posterity",

(1).B. Aggoula, read this word as mwmw as a personal name (see Syria 62 (1985), pp.65-66.

with the third person masculine singular suffix "his". Cooke, NSI, p.191 related 'ḥrh to the Nabataean 'ḥr and Arabic أُخْرُ used in the sense of 'posterity'. However, it has been suggested that 'ḥrh means, "future", (see Brauner, CLOA, pp.45-46). There is, however, in Aramaic another word for posterity which occurs in other Aramaic inscriptions, zrḥ (see below inscription No:11). The final word is difficult to make out, but the best reading may be the suggestion made by Beyer that it is l'm, "forever", (see K. Beyer, A. Livingstone, ZDMG137 (1987), p.290).

Inscription No.2

(Plate.I)

Atlal 7 (1983), p.106; ZDMG137 (1987), p.288.

Text

npš ṣlḥ br

t m^cntn

Translation

Memorial stone of ṣlḥ

daughter of m^cntn

Commentary

This inscription is carved on a gravestone of the so-called silent visage type. The stone is 125cm high by 28cm wide, with a thickness of 10cm. The distance between the second line and the edge of the stone is 60cm and that between the top of the face and the top of the stone is 4cm. Although the face is elegantly engraved, the nose has for some reason been broken and there is no mouth: this may indicate the redundancy of speech or death. The stone was found in the burial area of the ṣa'idi gardens and is now on display in the local museum in Taymā'. The reading proposed above is therefore certain. Paleographically the inscription may go back to at least the 5th or 4th century (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188).

Line 1-2: The first word is to be read as npš, "memorial stone", which is a feminine construct singular noun, which occurs in other Aramaic inscriptions found in Taymā' (see R. Degen, NESE, 2 (1974), pp.88-89,

inscription Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 published by Livingstone and other (Atal 7 (1983), pp.106-108), then by Beyer and Livingstone (see ZDMG 137 (1987), pp.288-290). Then comes the first personal name, the first two letters of which can be read as *t* and *š*, although *ṭ* has also been suggested by Livingstone (see Atal 7 (1983), p.105). However, the letter *ṭ* usually comprises three strokes joined at their lower point with the right stroke curving to the left to join the top edge of the middle stroke. In this case, however, the right leg does not curve to join the middle stroke (see Table 1) and the letter must therefore be read as *š*, followed by *l* and *h*, giving *šlh*, a feminine personal name which occurs in Biblical Hebrew as *שִׁלְחָה* (see BDB p.1019). The next word is *brt* the feminine singular construct noun, "daughter". Then comes a personal name which can be read as *m^c ntn*, a feminine form of *m^cn* which means in old Aramaic "spring" or "source" (see J. Fitzmyer, JAOS, 81 (1961), p.193; DISO p.162; Brauner, CLOA, p.355).

The name occurs in other Aramaic inscriptions as *m^cnn*, (see G. Driver, PEQ (1938), p.189; Cooke, NSI, 70:2; CIS114:2; Donner, Röllig, KAI, 229:2). *M^cn* appears compound with 'lhy as *m^cn'lhy* (see R. Degen, NESE, 2 (1974), p.96).

Inscription No.3

(Plate.II)

Atal 7 (1983), p.107; ZDMG137 (1987), pp.288-289; Syria 62 (1985), pp.68-69.

Text

npš šy^c ' ,

br grmn

by /rḥ/ 'b zy

šnt /16/

Translation

memorial stone of šy^c ' ,

son of grmn

in /the month/ of 'ab

of the year 16

Commentary

The inscription is written on another gravestone of the silent visage type. Fashioned from ash-grey sandstone, 55cm high, 30cm wide and 20cm thick, it is semi-circular in shape at the top. The face fills the upper third of the stone, while the remainder, which is separated by a thick horizontal line, shows the inscription, which consists of four lines of Aramaic script. The writing itself closely resembles that in inscription No:2. The letters are elegantly carved, with shapes that are easily made out. The reading of the inscription is clear except for the final word on the fourth line.

Line 1-2: The first word is npš (see inscription No:2), followed by the name šy^c, a masculine personal name occurring in Nabataean inscriptions as šy^clh (see Cantineau II, p.150). The name occurs also in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as šy^c, "companion", (see Harding, Index, p.364, Ryckmansi, p.208). This is followed by the well known Aramaic noun br, "son of", and the name grmn, a masculine personal name occurring in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as grmn and grm (see Harding, Index, pp.159-160).

Line 3: The first two letters can be read as b and y, but the others in the word have been completely obliterated. However, as has been suggested by Aggoula (see Syria 62 (1982), p.68) the best reading is byrh, which is a compound of the preposition b, "in", and the masculine singular construct noun yrh, "month", which occurs in other Aramaic (see Cowl 2:1, 10:1:5, 11:4:8, 13:1, 14:1, 20:1, Kraeling, BMAP, 2:1, 3:1, 4:1, RES 438:3,491:4:5, J. Segal, JSS31, (1986) p.73, DISO p.111). This reading is suggested by the month name 'ab which follows. In Syriac it is ܐܒ, approximate equivalent August", (see Dic-Syr p.1, Healey, FSS, p.76). Then we have the relative zy, "which", "of", which appears in other Aramaic texts (see Cowl 1:3, 3:12, 11:3, 13:8, 14:6; Cooke, NSI, 69:2, 70:1; Gibson, TSSI, 8:2:3, 41:3, 59:1, Brauner, CLOA, p.159).

Line 4: The first word can be read as šnt, "year", which appears in other Aramaic inscriptions (see J. Segal JSS31 (1986) p.75; N. Avigad

IEJ17 (1967), p.109). This is followed by a shape which is very hard to decipher although Aggoula (see Syria 62 (1986), p.68) read it as 105 according to Bosra calendar,⁽¹⁾ corresponding to 210/1 AD. But this reading is totally unacceptable, because paleographically the inscription most likely goes back to at least around 5th or 4th century BC.

Beyer, Livingstone (see ZDMG 137 (1987), p.289) have a better and more acceptable reading: 16 of the rule of Darius II (424-404).

It must be confessed that we know little about the dating system used by the Aramaean. However, according to the few dating Aramaic inscriptions available, it seems that they used to employ two methods: first was to date according to the year of reign of the Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian and Persian emperors; second the year of the reign of the local king was utilised (see Zengirli: Panammw inscription which was published by G. Cooke, NSI, No:62).

Inscription No.4A

(Plate.II)

Atal 7 (1983), p.108; ZDMG 137 (1987), p.290.

Text

npš grmn br m

tmn ngd'

Translations

Memorial stone of grmn son of
mtmn, the officer

Commentary

The block of stone accommodating these two inscriptions (4A; 4B) is quite small and shows signs of having been cut on each side, in such a manner that it would not have rested in the ground. As Livingstone and others have suggested, this was most likely a practice

(1) This dating system used in Syriac in the fifth and sixth centuries; for more details see W. Hatch, An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts, Boston 1941, pp.18-20.

piece rather than a gravestone for two people (see Atlal 7 (1983), p.108). Measuring 23cm by 28cm and 7cm in thickness, the stone was found with a somewhat damaged bottom, although this does not affect the reading. The first and second line, which have rulings beneath them, are upside down. The inscription contains two lines separated by thick horizontal lines. The letters are elegantly carved and easy to read, therefore the reading shown above is quite certain.

The first word is to be clearly read as npš, "memorial stone", (see inscription No:2), followed by the personal name grmn, the g of which has an unusual shape. g is normally written with two strokes descending from a single point, but in this instance the right leg turns to the right, then cuts up through the left leg. This makes the letter similar in shape to m in Syriac characters (see Table:1). grmn is a personal name which occurs also in inscription No:3. The word br, "son of", follows. Next, the name of grmn's father which can be read as mtmn, the second letter, t, is unusually carved. The name occurs in Phoenician inscriptions as mtm (see Phoen, PN, p.143) and also the personal name mtm appears in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.526). Although Livingston and others (see Atlal 7 (1983), p.108); Beyer, Livingstone (see ZDMG 137 (1987), p.290) have read this name as mtmnn, adding a second n (which almost certainly belongs to the following word), it would seem that the best reading is mtmn. This is followed by the word read by Beyer, Livingstone (see ZDMG 137 91987) p.290); Livingstone and others (see Atlal 7 (1983), p.108) as gd' without any explanation. The correct reading when we align the extra n to the new word is either ngd' a masculine noun in the emphatic form "the officer", "workman", (see Cook, Glossary, p.80), or ngr', a masculine singular noun meaning "carpenter", (see DISO, p.147). It seems that the best reading would be ngd', "officer".

Inscription No.4B

(Plate.II)

Atlal 7 (1983), p.108; ZDMG 137 (1987), p.290.

Text

npš b^ctw br ty

mw

Translation

Memorial stone of b^ctw son of tymw

Commentary

This small inscription appears below inscription No:4A, but the other way up. Although the letters are carelessly carved the reading proposed above is certain save for the last word, the second letter of which is hard to make out. The first word is to be read as npš, "memorial stone", (see inscription No:2), followed by the first personal name which contains four signs read by Beyer, Livingstone incorrectly as bsk. This reading ignores the second sign which appears to be ^c (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188; Cooke, NSI, pl.XIII). This is followed by t (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188, Column No:1) and finally w (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188, column No:4; Cooke, NSI, pl.XIII Column No:7). Therefore this word should be read as b^ctw, a masculine personal name which also appears in Nabataean inscriptions (see JS 151). This is followed by the noun br, "son of". The next word can be read as follows: t, followed by a shape that is very difficult to make out, though it may be y, then m and finally w. This gives tymw, a masculine personal name which also appears in Nabataean (see Contineau II p.155) and in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.117).

Inscription No.5

(Plate III)

Unpublished.

Text

npš

šg^cn

br ^cbdgn

Translation

Memorial stone of

šg^cn

son of ^cbdgn

Commentary

This inscription, which contains three lines, is carved on a memorial stone fashioned from ash-grey sandstone measuring 94cm by 28cm and 12cm in thickness. The sculpture on the upper section shows a figure of the silent visage type. (as in inscription No:3), it has no mouth. The eyebrows are described in straight lines. The lower register is given over to the Aramaic writing, which dates back to at least the 5th or 4th century BC according to the shape and style of the letters (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188). This gravestone was found in Taymā' and was given by some of the local citizens to Taymā' Museum, where it is currently under restoration. The letters of this inscription are well written and can easily be read. The reading given above is quite certain.

Line 1: This contains just one word npš, "memorial stone", (see inscription No:2). The distance between its letters is worthy of note.

Line 2: This also contains just one word šg cⁿ, a masculine personal name which occurs as a personal name in a slightly different form in Palmyrene as šg^cw (see Stark, PNP, p.113). In Arabic شجاع means "brave".

Line 3: The first word is br, "son of", the only word with joined letters. This is followed by a word which is to be read as c^hbdgn, a personal name composed of c^hbd, the common Semitic noun, "servant", and the root gnn, "protect", known also in Syriac and Phoenician inscriptions (see Dic-Syr p.50; Tomback, Phonen, p.67).

Inscription No.6

(Plate.IV)

Unpublished.

Text

qbr c^hlymnnt

brt tymn

Translation

Grave of c^hlymnnt

daughter of tymn

Commentary

This is another inscription written on a gravestone fashioned from grey sandstone, measuring 95cm x 34cm and 13cm thickness. The face rises up approximately 7cm from the surface of the stone. The face which is on the upper section, has no mouth and the eyebrows are curved. The letters of this inscription are satisfactorily carved and thus the reading proposed above is quite certain.

Line 1: The first word could be read as q a shape which occurs in other Aramaic inscriptions (see Cooke, NSI, pl.XIII; Gibson, TSSI, p.188), followed by b and r, giving the masculine singular noun qbr, "grave", "tomb", which occurs in other Aramaic inscriptions (see Dupont-Sommer, Sfire, IIa:4:5; J. Starcky, OA9 (1970), p.133; R. Degen, NESE 2 (1974), p.91). Then comes the personal name which is to be read as qymnnt, which could be explained in two different ways: either this name has a connection with the Semitic noun which occurs in Biblical Hebrew in both forms as a masculine qym, "young man", and in feminine form as qymt, "young woman", (see BDB, p. 761) and also appears in Nabataean inscriptions as a masculine, qym, "young man", and as a feminine, qymt, "young woman", (see Cantinean II, p.131), or the first part name is maybe derived from qy, "noble", and the pre-Islamic deity Manat 𐤌𐤍𐤏.

Line 2: The first word is the well-known word brt, "daughter", the mark found preceding brt has no connection with the inscription. It may have been written by mistake by the engraver. The next word is clearly to be read as tymn, a personal name which may be related to the famous city of Taymā'. Derivatives of place-name are commonly used as personal name by Arabs.

Inscription No.7

(Plate.V)

Unpublished.

Text

ḫbnt // z/y/

Translation

ḡbnt' who

Commentary

This inscription is carved on the edge of a block of ash-grey sandstone, damaged on the upper surface and carelessly worked. It measures 48cm by 38cm and 18cm in thickness. The item was found in an industrial area north east of Taymā'. It is now on display in the city's museum. The five or possibly six, carelessly engraved signs are from right to left, ḡ (with unusual shape), b, n, t and finally, perhaps, '. This gives ḡbnt', which may be a personal name or connected with the adjective ḡm, "good", which occurs in Biblical Aramaic (see BDB p.1094). Then comes the letter z followed by what may be a y to give zy, "which", "who" (see Brauner, CLOA, p.159)

Inscription No.8

(Plate.V)

Unpublished.

Text

mḡrn' dy

qrb mr'y

Translation

The incense altar which

mr'y dedicated

Commentary

This Aramaic inscription is carved on the side of an incense altar. Fashioned from ash-grey sandstone, the artefact is, save for the inscription, totally without decoration. It measures 59cm by 21cm by 23cm and the top of the incense altar is 10cm x 6cm. The engraver has carved two lines of Aramaic writing. Paleographically the inscription may go back to at least around the 5th or 4th century BC (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188). The reading is possible and can be easily made out.

Line 1: The first word is to be read either as mḡrn' or mḡdn' with

the Aramaic emphatic ending. mḥrn' may be a new word referring to the incense altar itself. It is interesting to note that the only part of the incense altar elegantly fashioned is the section upon which the inscription appears. The relative pronoun dy, "which", follows. From the point of view of Aramaic this is significant since it may help to date the text. The use of zy belonging to an earlier period of the language than dy.

Line 2: The first word is to be read as qrb, "dedicated", "offered", a 3rd masculine singular perfect verb (see inscription No:1). The next word is either a proper name mr'y or a masculine singular noun with first person suffix, "my lord", (see Cowl 16:3, 37:1, 38:1, 39:2, 54:10, 67:7, 70:1, 80:9). It seems that the better reading of mr'y is as a proper name.

Inscription No.9

(Plate.VI)

Unpublished.

Text

mḥrn' dy

qrb ng^{cl}h

br 'rsn

br nh'l

xx' lḥyy

/ng^{cl}/h w npš

/'h^{cl}th/

Translation

The incense altar which

ng^{cl}h

son of 'rsn

son of nh'l offered

for the life

of ng^{cl}h and the soul

of his posterity

Commentary

This ash-grey sandstone incense altar found in Taymā' shows on one of its sides, six or more lines of Aramaic script, similar in content to those in inscription No:8. The words in the inscription are divided neither by dividers (dots) nor by spaces and in this respect it resembles all Aramaic inscriptions found in the Taymā' area. The writing is unclear in parts, especially in lines 4, 5 and 6. However, the letters are nicely carved and the reading proposed above is fairly certain.

Line 1: This word is clearly legible as mhrn', "incense altar", (see inscription No:8). This is followed by the relative pronoun dy, "which". Paleographically the inscription may go back (as most of the inscriptions included in this corpus) at least around the 5th or 4th century BC (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188).

Line 2: This begins with the verb qrb, "offered", (see inscription No:1). The next word is to be read as ng^clh, a personal name composed of the Semitic root ng^c, "touch", (see DISO p.174) is found in Aramaic, and the word lh, "god". The ' is dropped, for one reason or another by the engraver, may be because there was not enough space.

Line 3: The first word is clearly the noun br, "son of", carved in a style used in inscription No:8. Then comes a personal name which could be read as 'rśn, an epithet which appears in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as 'rś and 'rś (see Harding, Index, p.37; Ryckmans p.47). The name is also found in Punic as ḥbd'rś (see Cooke, NSI, 45:7). It is attested in Phoenician as 'rś (see Cooke, NSI, 21:1).

Line 4: The first word can hardly be anything else but br, "son of", followed by the personal name nh'l, a proper name appearing in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as nhl, "to drink", (see Ryckmans p.137, Harding, Index, p.602).

line 5: The letters of the first word are very difficult to make out with the exception of the final one, which can be distinguished as '. Then comes lhyy, a compound of the particle l, "for", "to", which

appears frequently in Aramaic inscriptions (see DISO pp.130-132) and hyy, a masculine plural noun construct (see DISO p.86).

Line 6: Unfortunately, the first word has been completely obliterated save for the final letter h. Since there is space for four letters before h, there are two alternatives for this reading. Because the preceding word in line 5 is lhyy the next word is either a noun or a personal name. (a) If it is a proper name, it is probably one that appears in the inscription. Since h is clear the only suitable candidate is the name ng^clh, which appears in line 2. But the second problem is how to read the following letter, which looks at first like n. The n cannot belong to the next word, npš. The only reasonable reading, then is w, "and", unusually formed. Thus the line can be read as lhyy ng^clh w npš, "for the life of ng^clh and soul of ..." (b) the second possibility is to read the first word in line 6 at npsh, "his soul", this giving lhyy npsh w npš ..., "for the life of his soul and the soul of ..."

Line 7: Unfortunately, the whole of the line has been effaced, but can be restored tentatively as 'h^rth, "his posterity".

Inscription No.10

(Plate.VI)

Unpublished.

Text

npš ^cmrn br

xxx'l

Translation

Memorial of ^cmrn son of

xxx'l

Commentary

This small block of stone, damaged on its right side, was cut on each side in such a manner that it could not have remained standing in the ground. Measuring 33cm by 44cm by 40cm by 12cm, the block carries two lines of inscription in the middle. The letters are messily engraved yet can still in part be made out.

Line 1: The first word can be read as npš, "memorial", (see

Inscription No:2). The next word is ḥmrn, a masculine personal name which occurs in other Aramaic inscriptions (see Donner, Röllig, KAT, 229:4). This is followed by the noun br, "son of".

Line 2: This word is impossible to decipher but two of the signs may be ' and l.

Inscription No.11

(Plate.VII)

Abu. Duruk, Introduction to the Archaeology of Tayma, pp.61-66; Atlat 7 (1983), pp.108-111; Syria 62 (1985), pp.66-68; CBQ 48 (1986), pp.387-394; 2DMG 137 (1987), pp.286-287 Iraq 48 (1986), pp.85-101.

Text

1. / /t tym'
2. h/ qym pšgwṭhrw br
3. m/lk z/y/ lḥyn ḥḳly by /t/
4. š/lm zy db w'rḥbh w
5. h/qym krs" znh qdm
6. šlm zy db lmz/y/ tḥ šngl'/
7. w'sym' 'lhy tym /'/
8. lḥyy npš pšqw
9. ṭhrw wzrḥ mr' /xxx/
10. /w/ lḥyy npšh zy /ḥḳly /

Translation

1. city of Taymā'
2. pšgwṭhrw, son of
3. the king of Liḥyān, ḥḳly set up house
4. of šlm of db and 'rḥbh and
5. he set up this throne in front of
6. šlm of db as the seat of šngl'
7. and 'sym' the gods of Taymā'
8. for the life of the soul of pšgw
9. ṭhrw and his off spring, mr' /xxx/
10. and for the life the soul of ḥḳly

Commentary

This inscribed stele was discovered during the excavation carried out in Taymā' in 1979 by the Ministry of Education, Department of Antiquities and Museums. The excavations were led by Abu-Duruk. Photographs of the item appear in Atal 3-4. The stele is slightly damaged on both its base and sides, which unfortunately affects the inscription, especially in lines 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9. It measures 75x26x0.61cm and is divided into three sections. The uppermost edge has a rectangular projection, beneath which appear a number of sacred symbols, which extend downwards 0.25cm. On the righthand side of the stele, there is an eight-pointed star, usually taken to be the symbol of Ishtar, the Goddess of the planet Venus (see G. Bawden, *Atal* 4 (1980), p.83, Abu Duruk, *IAT*, p.61). To the left of the star, there is a shape which is probably the full moon (sin). To the left of the full moon, there is another damaged symbol, which cannot unfortunately be identified with any certainty but could be a human figure. Immediately above the eight-pointed star in the top right hand corner, there is the winged disc.

The general arrangement of the wing feathers, horizontal above and slanting or vertical below, indicates its Egyptian and Mesopotamian influences. The disc was kept as the predominant, and indeed, essential emblem of the sun (see S. Dalley, *PSAS* 15 (1985), p.29; S. Dalley, *Iraq* 48 (1986), p.85-86).

Finally, to the left of it, there is a damaged symbol which cannot unfortunately be identified with any certainty. Below these symbols comes the Aramaic inscription, ten lines of high-relief Aramaic writing with letters that are clearly carved and with a few exceptions, easy to read.

The interest in this stele is the shape of its letters which resemble those of the Taymā' stele in the Louvre (1879, see Gibson, *TSSI*, pl.IX). Moreover, the technique and the style of engraving in the two inscriptions is identical. Also important is the connection between the people of Taymā' and the surrounding civilization that is evoked by

the sacred symbols above the inscription. A cube of greenish-coloured soft stone was found with the stele in Qasr al-Hamra'. Each face of this cube measured 0.37m. G. Bawdon, who describes this cube-shaped stone with its relief carvings, states that the iconographic motifs have their origin in Mesopotamia and that the religious symbols, the crescent and the star, are likewise of Mesopotamian character. He further maintains that this motif probably originates in Egypt. The human figure appearing on both faces of the cube-shaped stone is of Babylonian artistic mode. He thinks that the frontally-viewed head is rare in Mesopotamian art but that it forms one of the more common motifs in the religious art of South Arabia. The decorated sides of the cube-shaped stone reflect a clearly Mesopotamian style (see G. Bawden, *Atlat* 4 (1980), pp.83-84; Abu-Duruk, *IAT*, p.57).

Line 1: unfortunately the first part of this line has been completely obliterated. Therefore it has not been possible to make any attempt at the completion of the first line.⁽¹⁾ The word which is clearly legible in this line is tym', preceded by the letter t which clearly belongs to the previous word. tym' is now called "تَيْمَاء" and is situated in Northern Arabia in an oasis that was famous even in ancient times. Caravans on their way to Egypt or Assyria would stop over there, and the influence of commerce with these two countries is evident in both stelae (1879 and 1879).

(1) Beyer, Livingston (*ZDMG* 137 (1987) p.286) restore this obliterated line by suggesting that the missing word are šnt ... b byr/ t tym' "in the year ... in the city of Taymā". While Aggoula (see *Syria* 62 (1985), p.66) restores this obliterated line by suggesting that the missing words are "b mdyn/t tym" "in the city of Tyma". But it seems that there are still more spaces to be completed; cross (see *CBQ*48 (1986), p.390) restored this by suggesting the following additions "/nšb' zy šhrwph/t tym" "the stele which šhrw governor of Tyma", which is even more unacceptable restoration, in our view, because there are not enough spaces to add all the letters which he has added. The restoration should not consist of more than nine letters in order to fit in the line.

Line 2: Damage to the right edge has obliterated the beginning of the first word, although since the three distinguishable letters are q, y and m the missing letter could conceivably be h. This word gives hqym though the q has an unusual shape. hqym would be the 3rd masculine singular perfect aph'el of qwm, "to arise", the verb occurs in other Aramaic (see Kraeling, BMAP, 6:16; Donner, Röllig, KAI, 214:2, 215:2; Ismā'īl p.250, DISO pp.254-255; Brauner, CLOA, p.519). Then follows the personal name which could be read as follows: p ṣ g w, ṭ (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188, Cooke, NSI, pl.XIII), although ṣ has also been suggested (see A.Livingstone, Atlat 7 (1983); p.109; F. Cross, CBQ48 (1986), p.391; K. Beyer, A. Livingstone, ZDMG137 (1987), p.286). However, the letter ṣ usually comprises three strokes, in general the strokes are straight. In this case, however, the right leg curves to join the middle stroke (see table I) and the letter must therefore be read as ṭ, followed h, r, w. This gives pṣgwṭhrw. This personal name would be a compound of pṣgw, a personal name which occurs in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.109) and ṭhrw which may be derived from the Semitic verb found in Hebrew as ṭḥm, "to be clean", "pure", or the noun ṭḥm, "cleanliness", (see BDB p.372). So pṣgwṭhrw would be a personal name here a double name being used to differentiate one pṣgw from another. This way was the case in the kingdom of Lihyan (see F. Cross, CBQ48 (1986), p.390). The following word is clearly to be read br, "son of", although the final letter r is difficult to make out.

Line 3: Unfortunately, the first letter of the first word has been completely obliterated but it could possibly be read m. This followed by l and k to give mlk, "king". Then the scribe wrote z, presumably beginning zy.⁽¹⁾ We suspect that he omitted the y by accident. Therefore this may be read in a corrected form as mlk ⁽²⁾ zy, "king

(1) F. Cross suggested that the letter y is damaged, possibly as a result of erasure (see CBQ48 (1986), p.392). This is not wholly acceptable, since there is no space for the y.

(2) Segal suggested that this word is to be mlky, a personal name (see Abu-Duruk, IAT, p.64); so also Livingstone and others (see Atlat 7 (1983), p.109). However, Beyer, Livingstone (see ZDMG 137 (1987), p.287) have read it as mlky

of". Then comes the word lhyn. The shape of l, being similar to the Nabataean l. lhyn is the name of a kingdom in Arabia.

Next comes h^cly which has been explained by Segal as the causative of ly meaning, "offered up", (see Abu-Duruk, IAT, p.65); so also Livingstone and others (see Atlal 7 (1983), p.109); F. Cross (see CHQ48 (1986), p.392). However, h^cly is explained by Anggoula as the city of al-ḥulā (see Syria 62 (1985), p.66). However, the better explanation as suggested by Beyer, Livingstone (see ZDMG 137 (1987), p.287) that it is a personal name, one occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as h^cll (see Harding, Index, p.618).

The following word is to be read as b,y and then probably t, although the state of the inscription at this point makes it hard to tell. The combination makes byt, "house", or "temple", (see Dupont-Sommer, Sfire, Ia:6, Ib:3; Cooke, NSI, 61:9, 63:17; Cowl 13:11; Kraeling, BMAP, 3:21, 9:4, 10:5; Hoftijzer, Kooij, Aramaic, II: 6; DISO, P.35; Brauner, CLOA, P. 93).

Line 4: The first letter of the first word is missing, but taking into account the fact that the next two letters are l and m and the previous word was byt, "house", it is reasonable to suppose that the missing letter is ṣ, for this would give ṣlm the name of a well-known deity which also occurs in the other Aramaic inscription found in Taymā' (Louvre 1897). ṣlm appear to have been an Aramaic or north Semitic deity and not native to Arabia (see Gibson, TSSI, 30:2:3, 10:12, Cooke, NSI, 69:2, 70:3). The relative pronoun zy, "of" follows. Next to zy comes a word consisting of two letters which could be read and interpreted in two different ways:

- (1) the first letter may be of r, followed by an unusual form of the letters b. This gives rb, "great". (see Abu-Duruk, IAT, p.65). It may also be a place-name comparable to hgm in ṣlm hgm (see Taymā' 1897), Livingstone and other (Atlal 7 (1983) p.109); Cross (see CBQ 48 (1986), p.390); Beyer, Livingstone (ZDMG 137 (1987), p.287).

meaning, "royal man", "royal official". Both, Aggoula (Syria 62 (1985), p.66) and Cross (CBQ48 (1986), p.392) have read it as mlk, "King of".

- (2) Alternatively the word may be read as db (the form of d and r being similar in old Aramaic) giving a place name. Compare دب a place situated near البصرة al-Baṣra (see *Yāqūt* 2 p.436) although, that no place name db is known near Taymā'. The following word is the particle w, "and".

The next word is very difficult to decipher. It has been suggested this word consists of four letters k, ', r and h to give k'dh, "wayfare", or k'rh (see Abu-Duruk, IAT, p.65). However, the best reading for this word would seem to be as follows: ' (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188), r, h, b and h. This would give rḥbh, which could be interpreted in two ways:

- (1) The masculine noun rḥb with the third person masculine singular suffix. rḥb occurs in Biblical Hebrew as רָחֵב, "wide" (see BDB p.932) رَحْبُ in Arabic (see *Lisān* 1 p.413). Therefore w'rḥbh might mean, "and its wide area", /enclosure".
- (2) Since slm occurs in Taymā' stele 1879 reference to the cult of hgm and mḥmm, here the reference may be is to the slm of db and rḥbh,⁽¹⁾ which could be the better reading.

The last word is the particle w, "and".

Line 5: h the initial letter of the first word is thought to be missing. The remaining letters are clearly q, y, m, giving hqym, "set up", (see line 2). Then comes a word which can be read as ksr" a masculine singular construct noun, "throne",⁽²⁾ which occurs in other Aramaic inscriptions (see DISO, p.127, Brauner, CLOA, p.291). This followed

- (1) This word in our view is mistakenly read by Segal as bḥk'n, "in it now" (see Abu-Duruk, IAT, p.65); Livingstone and others, read it as mytbh, "his pedestal". (See Atal 7 (1983), p.109), while the first letter is clearly ' (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188) not m. It has also been misinterpreted as indrbb by Aggoula (see Syria 62 (1985), p.66. The same mistake was also repeated by Beyer, Livingstone as mrbbh (see ZDMG 137 (1987, p.87). However, the better reading as has been suggested by Cross is rḥbh (see CBQ48 (1986), p.390).

- (2) The throne in question is probably the "cube" found in association with the

by the masculine demonstrative pronoun znh, "this", which occurs frequently in old Aramaic (see DISO p.291, Brauner, CLOA, p.169). Finally, in this line we have the preposition qdm, "before", "in front", which is common in Aramaic (see Cooke, NSI, 61:21, 65:2. Cowl 2:21, 10:13, 16:3, 30:2, 31:3).

Line 6: The first word is clearly slm (see above line 4), then comes zy, "of". Next, comes the place name dh (see above line 4). Then comes a word that can be read as l m then the shape which is most probably z, although it has been read as y, even though it does not have the middle bar peculiar to y. t followed and then finally b, to give lmztb, compound of l, "for", "to" and mztb which unfortunately so far has no explanation. However, this word has been read as lmytb by Segal (see Abu-Duruk, IAT, p.64; A. Livingstone and others, *Atlat* 7 (1983), p.109; F. Cross CBQ48 (1986) p.390; B. Aggoula, *Syria* 62 (1985) p.66, K.Beyer, A. Livingstone *ZDMG* 137 (1987) p.287). This may be accepted. mytb is a noun meaning, "sent", "pedestal", which occurs in other Aramaic (see CISii 114:1; Cook, *Glossary*, p.72, DISO, p.150). The last word in this line is šngl', the final ' being missing. šngl' is the moon god (see Cooke, NSI, p.198, Gibson, *TSSI*, p.150, B. Aggoula, *Syria* 62 (1985), p.69).

Line 7: The first word is w, "and", followed by the third deity mentioned in this inscription, 'šym' (see II Kings 17:30). Then comes the noun plural construct 'lhy' (see inscription No:1). Then follows the place name tym the ' of which is missing, probably as a result of the damage sustained by the edge of the stele.

Line 8: The first word is to be read lhyy a masculine plural construct noun (see inscription No:1). Then comes the noun feminine singular construct npš, "soul", (see inscription No:1), followed by the name of the donor psgwt

hrw. Note that here is an unusual space between the g and the w.

Line 9: The first word is the second part of the personal name psgwt

hrw, then comes the particle w, "and", followed by the masculine noun zic^c h, with the third person singular masculine suffix, "his offspring". This occurs in other Aramaic (see Cooke, NSI, 61:20,

stele (see photograph *Atlat* 4 (1980), p.169).

Cowl 85, DISO p.80, Brauner, CLOA, p.174).

The last part of the final word has been obliterated. It is preceded by the letters m, r, ' mr' is a personal name which occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.536).⁽¹⁾

Line 10: Unhappily, the only clear word we are able to read is npšh, and both the beginning and end of this line are missing. The best reading, for the beginning, suggested by Cross (see CBQ48 (1986), p.390) and Beyer, Livingstone (see ZDMG 137 (1987), p.286) is wlhyy, "and for the life", followed by npšh which could be interpreted in two ways: (1) as the singular feminine noun, with the third person singular suffix npšh, "his soul", (see Abu-Duruk, IAT, p.66; A. Livingstone, Atlat 7 (1983), p.109; B. Aggoula, Syria 62 (1985), p.66; K. Beyer, A. Livingstone, ZDMG 137 (1987), p.287). (2) As has been suggested by Cross (see CBQ 48 (1986), p.390), npšh, "the soul". This spelling with -h of the emphatic masculine form is paralleled in Biblical Aramaic (see E5:14) and it could be the better interpretation. Next comes the word zy, "of".

The last word in this line unfortunately is obliterated, but since there is only enough space for four letters, the most likely restoration is the personal name h^qly (see line 2).

(1). Segal explained mr' as the noun, "Lord", (see Abu-Duruk, IAT, p.66); Livingstone and others (Atlat 7 (1983), p.109); Beyer, Livingstone (ZDMG 137 (1987), p.287). However, the better interpretation to mr' is as suggested by Cross as a personal name (see CBQ 48 (1987), p.393).


IV. The Aramaic Script of the Text Studied in this Corpus

Script in the Corpus Studies

For the undated written historical sources and documents the best way to establish their date is on the basis of a methodical study of the development of the script.

Therefore, the palaeography of the inscriptions studied in this collection most likely dates back at least to around the end of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, because the Aramaic script from the fourth century BC and onwards shows a tendency to bend with long downstrokes to the left, as the d, q, t, k, m, n and p.⁽¹⁾ This is however not the case in the inscription No.11, the palaeography of which goes back at least to the early part of the fifth century BC.

The script as a whole develops as a result of the following factors:⁽²⁾

- (A) the dropping elements, as the shape of *h* in early Aramaic inscriptions is generally written with three horizontal bars and later on only one bar remains (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188).
- (B) alteration in form, as in the case of the letter *z* which is in early Aramaic formed by two parallel horizontal strokes joined by a vertical line (see Cooke, NSI, pl, XIII) and later on it generally has a slightly rounded head on a downstroke and the lower bar often ascends slightly to the right, forming a base line for the downstroke (see for example Taymā' inscription table 1).
- (D) the joining elements formerly written separately, as in the case of the letter *s* which used to have this shape  in early Aramaic inscriptions and which later on became a vertical stroke curving to the left, the top part of which resembles a small hook (see table1).

(1) This led to the distinction between, the inscription carved in the fourth century and onwards or backwards.

(2) Naveh, J., The Development of the Aramaic Script, Jerusalem, p.5; Dinger, D., Ancient Peoples and Places Writing, London 1962, p.138.

(C) The opening of the top and sides of the letters such as b which was a vertical stroke with a close head , but later on it became a vertical stroke with an "open cup" head (see table 1).

Therefore palaeography is an important way of dating undated sources, but not all letter followed parallel paths of development and sometimes forms remained stable a century or more⁽¹⁾ such as ' , y and l.

ⲟ: 

This shape of the ⲟ occurs frequently in this collection of Aramaic inscriptions. It can be formed as a horizontal and vertical stroke intersecting to form a cross, with a small projection at 45 degree in the top right hand section. However, it can appear in a number of forms (see tables 1 inscr. I and II).

ⲃ: 

This is a vertical stroke with an "open cup" head and a base that moves towards the left. The shape of ⲃ found in this collection is more or less in conformity with the normal shape of b in the fifth and fourth centuries (see Gibson, TSSI, p.188), except for the ⲃ in the Taymā' inscription (1979).

Ⲅ: 

This has two slightly rounded legs, often tending towards the left and descending from a single apex. The only unusually formed of g appears in inscription No:4A (see table 1' inscr. 4A).

Ⲍ: 

This letter consists of an upright vertical stroke with a concave head similar to that of b and r. In this collection the d is the only letter joined at its right side to another letter other than r (see inscription No:5, line 3).

(1) Naveh, op.cit., p.4.


h: 

This letter consists of three strokes. In the fifth and fourth centuries the shape of h was almost a horizontal stroke drawn from right to left with two descending oblique strokes. One is drawn from the right end and the other from the middle (see tables I, inscr.1).

w: 

The normal shape of this letter in the fifth and fourth centuries is an upright vertical stroke, curving on the top to the left to form a short horizontal. In this collection the shape of w appears mostly with a rounded head (see table 1, inscr.1) and for the unusual shape of w see table 1, inscr.4B).

z: 

The shape of this letter is similar to the shape of y , but minus the middle stroke. The z is remarkably similar to the Latin z.

h: 

The normal shape of the h in the fifth and fourth centuries is two parallel vertical lines, joined more than half way up by a horizontal bar, however the bar often projects from the middle of the left vertical stroke, ascending to join the right stroke at its top, as it appears in Taymā' stele 1987, line 8 (see table I, inscr.II).

t: 

The normal form of t in the fifth and fourth centuries is that this letter begins above the upper line descends and then curves to the right, ascends again to the top line and finishes with an oblique stroke to the left.

y: 

Only its middle bar distinguishes y from z. Generally the y has a slightly rounded head on a downstroke and the lower bar often ascends slightly to the right, forming a base line for the downstroke (see table1). This shape occurs in Phoenician inscriptions (see Gibson, TSSI, p.187).

k: 𐤀

This is an upright vertical stroke, with two small projections from the same apex. Its mouth is open on the left (see table I, inscr.II).

l: 𐤁

The tallest letter, this often begins above the upper line, the descending stroke being either vertical (see table I, inscr. 2 and 6) or curving to the right and becoming more rounded (see table I, inscr. I and II).

m: 𐤂

This normal shape of m in the fifth and fourth centuries is the vertical stroke, topped by a curve to the left which is cut by an obliquely descending bar. Occasionally the bar is drawn down to the middle of the vertical stroke (see table I, inscr.3); alternatively it is just a small stroke (see table I, inscr. II).

n: 𐤃

A long vertical stroke, often wavering and sometimes curved to the left. It turns at the top to form a small horizontal stroke, this sometimes curves to the right with an occasionally wavering head (see table I, for example inscr. 3 and 5).

s: 𐤄

This is a vertical stroke curving slightly to the left, the top part of which resembles a small hook (see table I, inscr.II).

c: 𐤅

Open at the top, this resembles the concave head of the b, d and r, but is more rounded.

p: 𐤆

An upright vertical stroke with a lower part that often curves slightly to the left, the top end projects a tail and is often rounded (see table 1, inscr. 2, 4A and 10). This letter form was well known in Phoenician (see Gibson, TSSI, p.187). An unusual form sometimes appears in this collection (see tables 1, inscr.1 and 9) similar to the Syriac (see Healey, FSS, p.7).

ɛ: ʳ

This is a vertical line, often turning slightly to the left and right joined normally from the top by a wavering stroke, projecting from the top right as a small stroke which forms a small tail (see table I, inscr.II).

q: ʲ

A vertical stroke, with an oval shape adhering to its top right side, resembling the Latin (p) except for the fact that the oval shape is not closed (see tables I, inscr. II). It also appears as ʲ and ʳ).

r: ʳ

This is a vertical stroke with a rounded open head similar to the d and b. The two letters r and d are difficult to distinguish except in context (see tables I for example 6, 8 and 9).

š: ʷ

This letter is composed of two strokes, joined together at its lower apex. The left stroke projecting a small line, which sometimes curves slightly to the right (see table I, inscr. 4A) or left (see table I, inscr.9).

h: ʰ

This is a vertical stroke curving slightly to the left with a small tail descending to the left (see table I, inscr.ii). This tail usually curves to the right forming a descending stroke (see table I, inscr. 2 and 3). This descending stroke rarely descends to the left. Then it joins the main vertical stroke (see table I, inscr.4A).

Key to the Aramaic Script Tables

- (1) Taymā'; J. Gibson, Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, Oxford 1975, p.188.
- (2) Carp; J. Gibson, Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Oxford 1975, p.188.
- (3) Inscr: Inscription.

Table I

Transliteration	Tayma	Carp	Inscr. 1	Inscr. 2	Inscr. 3	Inscr. 4A	Inscr. 4B	Inscr. 5
a	⋈	⋈	⋈⋈⋈		⋈⋈	⋈		
b	9	9	999	9	99	9	99	99
g	^		⋈		^	^X		^^
d	4	4	4			4		4
h	↑	↑	↑↑↑					
w	7	7	7777				77	
z	2	,			2			
h	π	ππ	πππ	H				
t	6		6					
y	2	≡	<<<		222		2	
k	4	4						
l	6	6	666	L				
m	4	4	444	4	4	444	4	
n	7	7	7777	777	777	777	7	777
s	3	44						
c	u	u	>	∇	∇		∇	∇∇
f	7	7	7→	7	7	7	7	7
p	2	2						
q	4	44	4					
r	4	4	444	4	44	44	4	4
s/s	∇	∇	∇∇	∇∇	∇∇	∇	∇	∇∇
t	7	7	777	777	7	7	77	

Table II

Transliteration	Tayma	Carp	Inscr. 6	Inscr. 7	Inscr. 8	Inscr. 9	Inscr. 10	Inscr. 11
i	+	x			+	+	+	+
b	g	y	y y	y	y	y y	y	y y y y
g	^					^		^ ^ ^
d	y	y			y	y		y y y
h	↑	↑				↑ ↑		↑ ↑ ↑
w	7	7				7		7 7 7 7
z	z	i		y				z z z
h	h	h h			h	h h		h h h
t	o			o				o
y	z	z z	z z		z z	z z z		z z z z
k	y	y						y y
l	l	l	l			l l l	l	l l l l
m	y	y	y y		y y	y	y	y y y y
n	y	y	y y y	y	y	y y y	y y	y y y y y
s	z	y y						z
c	u	u	v			v	u	u u
f	7	7				7	7	7 7 7 7
s	z	z						z z z
q	z	z z	T		p	p		p p
r	y	y	y y		y y y	y y y y	y y	y y y
i/s	v	v				v v	v	v v v
t	p	p	p p p	p				p p p p

V. Conclusions

(1) The eleven inscriptions studied in this corpus are engraved on different types of stone.

(a) There are four small stelaes bearing inscriptions, two of which were carved for a female (inscription Nos 2 and 6) and the others two for a male (inscription Nos 3 and 5). The following chart shows their features:

Note: (a) the dimensions given in cm are height x width x thickness.

(b) the following symbols are used:

√ = present

x = absent

Feature	stela of Inscr.2	stela of Inscr.6	stela of Inscr.3	stela of Inscr.5
Dimensions	125x28x10	95x34x13	55x30x20	94x28x12
Top Edge	straight	inclined	semi-circular	straight
Carved face	√	√	√	√
No. of lines of text	2	2	4	3
Formal	√	√	√	√
Mouth	x	x	x	x
Eyebrows	high-relief semi-circular	low-relief semi-circular	low-relief semi-circular	low-relief straight
Style of carving	low-relief	low-relief	low-relief	low-relief

(b) Three inscriptions are on blocks of stone, two of which have the inscriptions engraved on the face of the stone (inscription Nos 4 and 10), while inscription No.7 has its signs carved on the edge of the block. The following chart shows their features:

Feature	Block of Inscr.4	Block of Inscr.7	Block of Inscr.10
Dimensions	23x28x7	48x38x18	44x40x12
No of lines of text	2	1	2
Style of carving	Low-relief	Low-relief	Low-relief
Formal	√	x	√
State of preservation	The stone was damaged in its lower section	The stone was damaged on its edge	The stone was badly damaged on the right side

- (c) Two of the inscriptions in the collection are carved on incense altars.

Feature	Incense altar of Inscription 8	Incense altar of Inscription 9
Dimensions	59x21x23	33x44x12
No. of lines of text	2	7
Style of carving	Low-relief	Low-relief
Lines separating the lines of text	x	√

(2) The Taymā' Inscription

- (a) The iconographic motifs have their origin in Mesopotamia as do the religious symbols. The winged disc probably originates in Egypt; it appears in its straight form more commonly in Assyrian than in Babylonian art. Moreover, there seems to be two main cultural expressions represented in this stele. The first is the

strong northern influence reflected by the star and winged disc, both of which are of late Babylonian character. Secondly, the northern influence is apparent in the full moon.

- (b) *Liḥyān*, if the reading is correct, is a well-known Semitic tribe and Kingdom situated in Arabia. Despite the fact that the Liḥyanites had a separate language this stele was carved in Aramaic. This proves that Aramaic was in use among the *Liḥyanite* people.
- (c) It is important to note here that the deity šngl' occurs on the Taymā' stele of 1879 and that the name of the other deity linked with sngl' was earlier read as 'šyr' (see Cooke, NSI, 69:16; Gibson, TSSI, 30:16). However on the 1979 stele the name is clearly 'šym'. Therefore, the reading of 'šyr' should be corrected to 'šym' thus giving šngl' and 'šym' instead of šngl' and 'šyr'.
- (3) The best way to establish the date of undated written sources and documents is on the basis of the development of the script. Palaeographically the inscriptions covered in this study go back to the late fourth century BC (at the time when the local citizens of Taymā' began to employ Aramaic in their daily life) with the exception of inscription No.11, which goes back to the fifth century BC. The inscriptions are funerary except for inscription Nos 1, 7, 8, 9 and 11, which are offering texts. The quality of the inscriptions varies: some are poorly written with clumsy letters (such as inscription Nos 7 and 10) while some are beautifully inscribed with letters that are easy to make out (such as inscription Nos 5 and 9).

SECTION THREE

I. Introduction

Unfortunately the Nabataeans themselves have left no written records of their achievements and thus, the sources which we must rely upon are first and foremost the classical works such as Josephus War of the Jews and Antiquities of the Jews,⁽¹⁾ and Strabo's Geography.⁽²⁾ Brief mention of the Nabataean is also made in works by Tertullian, Stephanus Byzantus, Diodorus Siculus, Ptolemy, Plutarch, Nicolaus of Damascus, Ammianus, Marcellinus, DioCassius, Tacitus, Augustus (Res Gestae), Appian⁽³⁾ and the Bible.⁽⁴⁾ The context of one particular Biblical reference indicates that Damascus was ruled at the time in question by a Governor for the Nabataean King (see II Cor 11:32); elsewhere in the Bible the Nabataean are referred to as Nabataioi (see I Macc 5:25, 9:35). The only other sources of information about them are the remains of the artefacts which they left behind such as coins, inscriptions and archaeology.

Towards the fourth century BC⁽⁵⁾ the Nabataeans moved from

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- (1) The works of Flavius Josephus. Translated by William Whiston, London 1844. Flavius Josephus has been described by J. Riddle: "... he was not only pro-Roman but also an apologist for the Jewish people. As an historian Josephus seems quite fair but, when it comes to drawing interpretations he functioned as a propagandist ... A rule of thumb in reading Josephus is to remember that whenever he found it possible he exalted the Maccabees and degraded the Zealots." See Riddle, J., Political History of the Nabataean From the Time of Roman Intervention Until Loss of Independence in 106 A.D., North Carolina, thesis 1961, p.24.
- (2) Most of his information about this area was taken from two sources: Agatharchides and Aelius Gallus, and both were his friends.
- (3) Riddle, Ibid, p.26; Bowersock, G., Roman Arabia, London 1983, p.13.
- (4) The text we have used is the Jerusalem Bible, London 1966.
- (5) Although, one of the Assyrian inscriptions which goes back to around the

their original home, which was probably in the south⁽¹⁾ and, following the same method and style as the Aramaeans earlier, infiltrated slowly into Edomite territory, drove out its native inhabitants, and settled there. Gradually the Nabataeans successfully established their own society and kingdom. The independence and prosperity of the Nabataeans had, according to Strabo's reports, caught the eye of Alexander the Great. Before long, Arabia was second after India on his agenda.⁽²⁾ As Diodorus of Sicily reports, Antigonus, a general of Alexander's⁽³⁾ desired to subjugate the Nabataeans and attacked them twice. The first attack, led by Athenaeus, was a total failure according to Diodorus: "Most of the hostile troops they slaughtered where they lay; the rest they slew with their javelins as they awoke and sprang to arms. In the end all of the foot-soldiers were slain, but of

sixth century BC, mentions the name Na-ba-a-a-ti, it seems that there is no relation between this name and the name Nebayōt mentioned in the Bible (see Gen. 25:13) and Nabatu, the name by which the Nabataeans referred to themselves in their own Aramaic inscriptions. For more details see F. Winnett, W. Reed, Ancient Records From North Arabia, Toronto 1970, p.99; E. Broome, "Nabaiati, Nebaioth and the Nabataeans: the Linguistic Problem", Journal of Semitic Studies 18 (1973), pp.1-16; M. Abu Taleb, "Nabayati, Nabayot, Nabayat and Nabṛu: the Linguistic Problem Revisited", Dirasat 11 (1984), pp.3-11.

- (1) All scholars agree that the Nabataeans moved from the Arabian peninsula, but their opinions on the place of the Nabataeans' origin in the Arabian peninsula differ. Some believe that they moved from the North of Ḥijāz or al-Jawf; others believe they moved from the South of the peninsula and others say they may have come from the East of the peninsula, see J. Milik, "Origines des Nabatéens", Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan I (1982), pp.261-265; M. O'Connor, "The Arabic Loanwords in Nabataean Aramaic", Journal of Near Eastern Studies 45 (1986), p.213.
- (2) Riddle, *Op.Cit.*, p.16.
- (3) These events took place after the death of Alexander the Great.

the horsemen about fifty escaped, and of these the larger part were wounded."⁽¹⁾

The second expedition to Petra was led by Antigonos's son Demetrius unable to overcome the brave and hard fighting Nabataeans, he was forced into signing a treaty with them, a result which Antigonos was loathe to accept: "Antigonos rebuked him for the treaty with the Nabataeans, saying that he had made the barbarians much bolder by leaving them unpunished."⁽²⁾

The Nabataean kingdom flourished from the first century BC until it was annexed by the Romans in 106 AD.⁽³⁾ As G. Bowersock writes "The Nabataeans were prosperous and at peace. They had developed an effective system of desert agriculture and built up a group of strategically placed cities throughout the region."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Diodorus of Sicily. Translated. C. H. Oldfather Loeb Classical Library New York 1933, p.93.

(2) Diodorus, Ibid, p.105; for more information on these two expeditions see Riddle, op.cit., pp.16-17; Lawlor, J., The Nabataeans in Historical Perspective, Michigan 1974, pp.31-33; Starcky, J., "The Nabataeans: A Historical Sketch", The Biblical Archaeologist 18 (1955), pp.84-85; Jawād, A., al-mufaṣṣal fī tārīkh al-ʿarab qabl al-Islām, 3 Beirut 1978, pp.16-19.

(3) As Diodorus reports: "About this time Palma, the governor of Syria, subdued the part of Arabia around Petra and made it subject to the Romans ... Arabia ... It was given the name of a province, assigned a governor, and compelled to obey our laws by the emperor Tragan ...", see Negev, A., "The Nabataeans and the Provincia Arabia", Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II principat 8 (1977), pp.640-642.

(4) Bowersock, op.cit., p.74; for further details see Hammond, P., The Nabataean, their History Culture and Archaeology. Göthenburg 1973, pp.75-83; Jaussen, A., Savignac, R., op.cit., part 1, pp.107-138.

They also produced much fine architecture with tombs of a distinctive type.⁽¹⁾

But who exactly were the Nabataean, this enigmatic nation which had so intrigued Alexander and led to the subsequent attempt at their subjugation? Before carrying forward our discussion, we have to define, what we mean by the terms Nabataean and Arab.

The Nabataeans were a group of people, as indicated above; who were active in the NW Arabian peninsula from around the fourth century BC to 106 AD, when their territory was annexed by the Romans. Some of the Nabataean kings used to call themselves "king of Nbṭw" as is illustrated from the Nabataean inscriptions.⁽²⁾ The word Nbṭw may be derived from the Semitic root nbṭ "draw water from a well".⁽³⁾ Since the Nabataean as we know from classical sources had their own special way of digging wells for their "irrigation system" this way explain why they were called Nbṭw. Gradually, they accepted this definition "Nabataean" to distinguish themselves from the other tribes around that time.

The term Arab as used by the Assyrian and Babylonians to refer to the group of people who were active in the desert of Arabia from the ninth century BC.⁽⁴⁾ Therefore, the term Arab is related to all the

(1) Colinet, A., "Nabatäische Felsarchitektur", Bonner Jahrbücher, 180 (1980) pp.189, 230; Hadidi, A., "Nabatäische Architektur in Petra", Bonner Jahrbücher 180 (1980), pp.231-236.

(2) For example, see Cooke, NSI, 78:4; Euting, Nab, 23:3; Winnett, Reed 16:2.

(3) Brown, F., Driver, S., Briggs, C., A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, Oxford 1906, p.613; Beeston, A., Ghul, M., Muller, W., Ryckmans, J., Sabaic Dictionary, Beirut-Louvain-La-Neuve 1982, p.91; Biella, J., Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect, Harvard College 1982, p.290.

(4) Healey, J., "Were the Nabataean Arabs?" forthcoming; Jawād, op.cit., pp.13-16; al-Theeb, S., al-maqābir fī al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya qabl al-Islām,

groups of people who were active in that area.

It is worth mentioning that it is hard to establish the racial origins and affiliation of an ancient people as J. Healey writes "As a matter of general truth it must first be stated that the establishing of the racial origins and affiliations of an ancient people is always and inevitably very difficultS."⁽¹⁾

Early historians and geographers such as Diodorus, Josephus and Strabo class them as Arabs.⁽²⁾ The Bible, too refers to them as Arabians (see IIMac 5:8). But modern scholars are divided in their opinions. The writer for The Pictorial Biblical Encyclopedia states that "... they were not Arabs ..." ⁽³⁾ while P. Hitti believes that the Nabataeans do not appear to have been of pure Arabian stock but rather were "sedentarized Bedouins, who through a shift in many of their old habits, had fallen under the influence of Aramaic civilization."⁽⁴⁾ The view of the editor of the Jerusalem Bible is that the Nabataeans were Aramaeans who had the Arabian tribal style of life.⁽⁵⁾

The adoption of the Aramaic language and script by the Nabataeans is another factor behind the reluctance of modern scholars to acknowledge their Arab origin. The general conclusion reached by

a dissertation presented to the University of King Saud, Riyadh 1982, pp.17-21.; Eph'al, I., The Ancient Arabs, Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th-5th Centuries BC, Leiden 1982, pp.5-12.

(1) Healey, J., "Were the Nabataean Arabs?" forthcoming.

(2) For example, as Diodorus writes: "... the eastern parts are inhabited by Arabs, who bear the name of Nabataean ..." see Negev, op.cit., p.523.

(3) Lawlor, op.cit., p.27.

(4) Hitti, P., The Arab Heritage, edited by Nabih Amin Faris (Princeton), Princeton University 1944, p.36.

(5) Jerusalem Bible, 1966, p.667; M. Jastrow defines the term Nebat, an Arabic settlement South-East of Palestine, see A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmad Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature, London 1926, p.868.

these historians is that the Nabataeans were, like the language they used, Aramaean.

However, the adoption of the Aramaic language and script does not necessarily point to Aramaean origins. Indeed we have both ancient and modern examples of nations adopting the scripts of other people for the sake of progress or other considerations, when Aramaic was the lingua franca of the region, for example, both Jews and Persians favoured it over their own languages; several other nations also used to write some of their inscriptions in Aramaic. A modern example of alien language adoption might be that of the Algeria which under French occupation (1832-1962), adopted the language of the colonists (albeit by force rather than by choice). The non-Aramaic origin of the Nabataeans is suggested by the subject matter of their inscriptions.

The subject matter of the Nabataean inscriptions is mostly of local Nabataean interest, with most of the personal names being of Arabic origin as suggested by E. Littmann, who believes, as do the majority of scholars, that to judge from their personal names the Nabataean are Arabs.⁽¹⁾ Admittedly one can find Greek,⁽²⁾ Latin, Hebrew, Egyptian and Aramaic personal names in the Nabataean inscriptions but this is mostly a result of contact between the Nabataean and other nations.⁽³⁾ In addition to the personal names argument, there is the argument concerning religion. The main factor behind the development by the Nabataeans of religious concepts was their transition from nomadic to sedentary existence in a new, urban situation. The Nabataeans were

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- (1) Littmann, E., Nabataean Inscriptions from Southern Hauran, Leiden 1914, pp.19-24; for more details see Nabataean Inscriptions and list of personal names below.
- (2) Greek personal name occurs in the collection studied here; see inscriptions No:56, 69 and 89.
- (3) Another modern example purely related to scripts is that of Turkey under Atatürk (1923-1938). In 1928 the Latin script was introduced and the existing Arabic script made illegal. No one, however would presume from the Turks' use of the Latin script that they are European in origin.

bound to be influenced by the religious orientations of their new home, and in time they began to adopt some of the deities that were worshipped in their new community. Thus as P. Hammond writes "In such a context, religion is a rather vague concept. The desert world is full of spirits, benevolent and malevolent. In time a tribal god may emerge who is thought to control the destiny of the corporate group. Table commensality with that god, or a group of gods, may develop, and a "sacrificial" element takes root. Individual areas of the environment (eg. sun, moon, stars, natural phenomena, etc) acquire their individual gods and a pantheon develops."⁽¹⁾ Nabataean religion had much in common with the pre-Islamic polytheism of Arabia. Both Nabataeans and Arabians revered the god Hubal, the protector of the people, and Allat, the mother of the gods.

With regard to other aspects of society, it is worth noting that the Nabataeans according to the Greek sources, were of nomadic tribal background. As J. Healey writes "The Nabataean inscriptions reveal aspects of family and legal inscriptions suggesting a traditional tribal structure."⁽²⁾ Thus it may be noted that the Nabataean lifestyle had much in common with the Arabian tribal lifestyle.

Finally we may quote a description of the Nabataeans by Diodorus of Sicily: "They are exceptionally fond of freedom ... consequently the Arabs who inhabit this country, being difficult to overcome in war, remain always unenslaved; furthermore they never at anytime accept a man of another country as their over-lord and continue to maintain their liberty unimpaired. Consequently neither the Assyrians of old, nor the Kings of Medes and Persians, not yet those of the macedonians have been able to enslave them, and although they led many great forces against them, they never brought their attempts to a successful conclusion."⁽³⁾ As an example of modern scholars, N. Glueck described the Nabataeans as "In general the Nabataeans

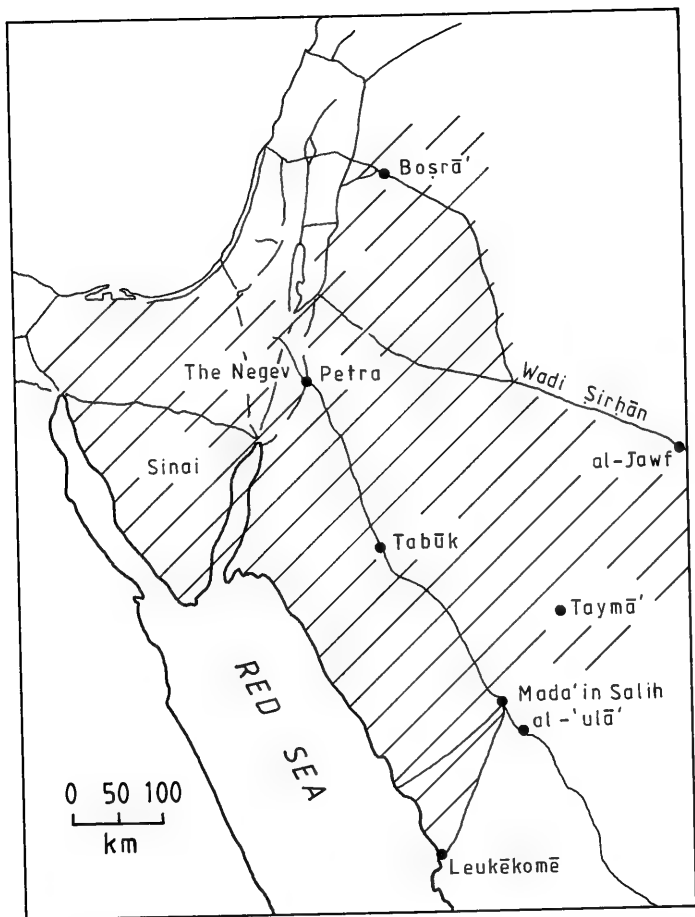
(1) Hammond, op.cit., p.93.

(2). Healey, J., "Were the Nabataean Arabs?" forthcoming.

(3) Negev, op.cit., pp.524-525.

may be accounted one of the most remarkable people that have crossed the stage of history ...⁽¹⁾

(1) Glueck, N., The Other Side of the Jordan, NewHaven, 1940, p.200.



The Nabataean Kingdom in the Middle and late Nabataean periods.

II. The Language

The language employed by the Nabataeans was Aramaic. For writing inscriptions they had set aside their Arabian dialect in favour of the lingua franca, which would necessarily have been more convenient in the face of diplomatic and may be more especially commercial needs. The people retained their Arabic dialect as a spoken language.⁽¹⁾

Structurally this dialect belongs to the NW Semitic family, more specifically to the post-Achaemenid Aramaic of the last centuries BC.⁽²⁾ The Nabataean texts are easy to recognize because of their characteristic script, a cursive hand out of which the modern Arabic script emerged.⁽³⁾ They are written from right to left. The inscriptions written before the Romans annexed the Nabataean territory were usually dated according to the years of the Nabataean kings.⁽⁴⁾

E. Littmann⁽⁵⁾ in his study of Nabataean inscriptions divides them into five classes: funerary, architectural, dedicatory, honorary and short memorial inscriptions.

The large majority of Nabataean inscriptions are funerary these have been divided by Littmann into two classes, "those in which a word for tomb or the like is given and which generally refer to a built funerary structure", such as inscription No:41 which found in Hauran and published by Littmann in Nabataean Inscriptions from Southern Hauran.

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- (1) Hammond, op.cit., p.10; Littmann, op.cit., p.17; Riddle, op.cit., p.27; Cooke, NSI, p.215.
 - (2) Levinson, H., The Nabataean Aramaic Inscriptions, New York thesis 1974, p.1; al-Theeb, S., "al-arāmiyyān min al-zirāʿa liqimat al-tijāra" Risalt al-Jamiah, 217 (1983), p.11.
 - (3) Beyer, op.cit., p.27.
 - (4) For example see inscription Nos 78: 4; 81:9, published by Cooke in NSI.
 - (5) Littmann, op.cit., pp.11-13.

dnh npšw phrw
br šly rbw gdynt
mlk tnwh...

This is the tomb of Fihir
Son of Shullai, the tutor of Gadhīmat,
the king of Tanukh

and "those which contain nothing more than the names of the deceased persons and which were often, but by no means always, placed on tomb, stones over simple graves in the ground like the majority of graves in our modern cemeteries" as the inscription No.126, which found in al-Hijir and published by Winnett, Reed in Ancient Records from North Arabia

qbr tlmwn br tdy

Tomb of Talmon son of Tadday

The architectural inscriptions which "give the name of the building, the name of the builder, often also the date", as inscription No:92, which found in al-Hijir and published by Cooke in A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions

dnh msgd' dy ʿbd
škwḥw br twr' ʿr'
dy bbʿr' 'lh rb'l byrḥ
month

This is the cippus which
Shakuḥu, son of Thora, made to Aʿra
who is at Boṣra, the god of Rabel in the

nysn šnt ḥdh lmlkw mlk'

Nisan, the first year of Maliku the King

The dedicatory inscriptions which "contain as a rule the name of the donor of the object dedicated and the god or goddess to whom they are dedicated "such is the inscription No:24 which found in Hauran and published by Littmann in Nabataean Inscriptions from Southern Hautan.

dnh msgd'
dy qrb
phkwrw
br'wšw
l't rb to
t 'l'tr

This is the cult-stone
which was offered by
pa-hakkūrū
the son of 'Aus,
Allat, the lady
of the place

Finally the short memorial inscriptions which are very frequently found in Nabataean inscriptions which contain names of persons, such

as the inscription No:233 which found in al-Ḥulā and published by Jaussen and savignac in Mission Archéologique en Arabie 2.

tymw br Ḥbydw šlm

Taymw son of Ḥobaydu, peace.

All of the Nabataean inscriptions which are in this collection (see Nabataean inscriptions) are of this kind, except No.91.

III. Nabataean Inscriptions

Introduction

Previously known Nabataean Inscriptions from NW Saudi Arabia.

- (1) During his visit to this area, C. Doughty collected Nabataean inscriptions and published them in Documents Épigraphique Recueillis dans le Nord de l'Arabie (1884). Some of these inscriptions were published by J. Euting, Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien (1885); Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum; G. Cooke, A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions (1903); A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, Mission Archéologique en Arabie (1909-1914) and by F. Winnett and W. Reed, Ancient Records from North Arabia (1970).
- (2) C. Huber collected during his visit to the region Nabataean inscriptions and first published them in Journal d'un Voyage en Arabie (1891); they were republished by J. Euting (1885); Corpus, G. Cooke (1903); A. Jaussen and R. Savignac (1909-1914); F. Winnett and W. Reed (1970).
- (3) During his visit to this region J. Euting collected Nabataean inscriptions publishing them in Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien (1885). Some of these were republished in Corpus; G. Cooke (1903); A. Jaussen and R. Savignac (1909-1914); F. Winnett and W. Reed (1970).
- (4) A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, collected new Nabataean inscriptions and published them in Mission Archéologique en Arabie (1909-1914). They also republished some of inscriptions found by C. Daughty (1884); C. Huber (1891) and J. Euting (1885). Some of these were also republished by F. Winnett and W. Reed (1970).
- (5) In his book The Northern Hegaz (1926), A. Musil drew attention to various sites where Nabataean inscriptions are to be found, the most important being Rawwāfa, which was also mentioned by H. Philby (1957). The Rawwāfa inscriptions with five small graffiti, (two of these inscriptions are restudied in our corpus of texts as

inscription Nos 27-28), were first published by J. Milik "Inscriptions grecques et Nabateennes de Rawwāfa" in Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology University of London 10(1972), pp.54-58.

- (6) H. Philby, in the book The Land of Midian (1957), Philby describes sites such as Jabal-Ghunaym in the Taymā' area where he found inscriptions. These inscriptions were first published by F. Winnett and W. Reed (1970).
- (7) R. Savignac and J. Starcky published a new Nabataean inscription found in the al-Jawf area: "Une Inscription Nabatèenne Provenant du Djof" Revue Biblique 64 (1957), pp.196-217.
- (8) F. Winnett and W. Reed collected during their visit to the area new Nabataean inscriptions and studied inscriptions mentioned by H. Philby (1957), in their book Ancient Record from North Arabia (1970).
- (9) A. Nasif published large and clear photographs of a new Nabataean inscription found in al - ʿulā in his published thesis al-ʿulā an Historical and Archaeological Survey of El-ʿulā with Special Reference of its Irrigation System, Riyadh 1988.
- (10) A new Nabataean inscription found in Taymā' by the Department of Antiquities and Museums was first published in Atlat 7 (1983), pp.102-116 by A. Livingstone, B. Spaie, M. Ibrahim, M. Kamal, S. Taimani; it republished by K. Beyer and A. Livingstone in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 137 (1987), pp.280-298.
- (11) Twelve new Nabataean inscriptions found in Maghaḏir Shu ʿaib by the Department of Antiquities and Museums, Riyadh were first published by A. Livingstone; Mr Khan; A. Zahrani; M. Salluk; S. Shaman in Atlat 9 (1985), pp.128-144.

New Nabataean inscriptions were found in NW Saudi Arabia during my survey there in the summer of 1987.

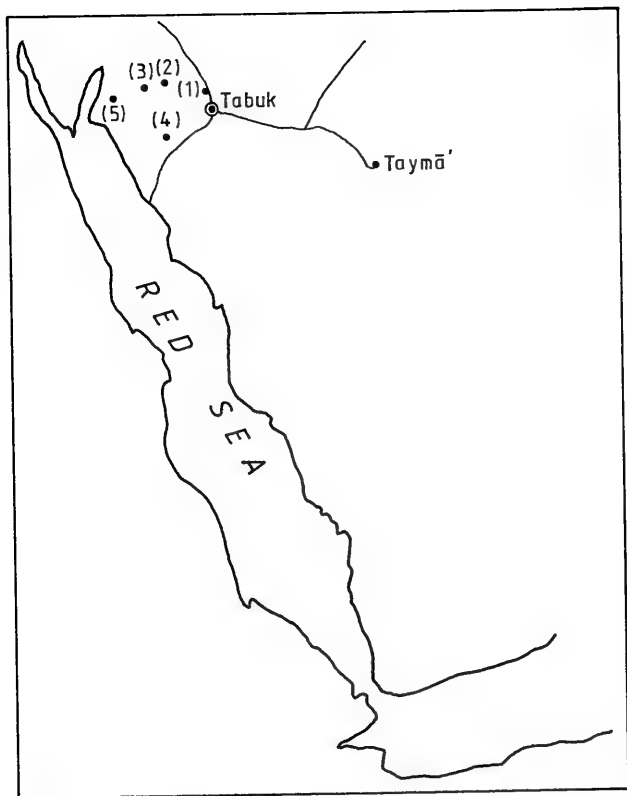
- (a) Inscriptions Nos:1, 2 were found in Jabal Qaʿ Abā Murr to the

NW of Tabūk City, nearly 85km north Rawwāfa.

- (b) Inscriptions Nos:3-20 were found in Jabal Abū Makhṛūq to the West of Jabal Qa'c Abū Murr.
- (c) Inscriptions Nos:21-28 were found in Jabal ṣarbūt Thulaytha, nearly 65km north of the al-Rawwāfa site.
- (d) Inscriptions Nos:29-84 were found in three mountains, near to the southern end of Tabūk's arable area.⁽¹⁾
- (e) Inscriptions Nos:85-89 were given to me by A.Ḥamd, now at King Saud University, Department of Archaeology and Museums, who collected them during his survey of the Egyptian Haj route (1983), in mountains between Tabūk and Taymā'.
- (f) Inscription No: 90 was found by a local citizen of al-Ḥarra, NW of Tabūk City, and given to me by the local Museum of Tabūk.⁽²⁾
- (g) Inscription No:92 was given to me by the Department of Antiquities and Museums, Riyadh. According to their sources this inscription was found in the al-Jawf area.
- (h) Inscriptions Nos:93, 94, 95 were given to me by the Department of Antiquities and Museums, Riyadh, they were found somewhere in NW of Saudi Arabia.
- (i) Inscription No:96 was given to me by the Department of Antiquities and Museums, Riyadh, this inscription was found in Taymā'.

(1) Inscriptions 59, 60, 61, 62, 63 were given to me by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Riyadh, according to their sources, they found in one of these three mountains.

(2) Inscription No:91 is the text published by A. Livingstone, B. Spaie, M. Ibrahim, M. Kamal, S. Taimani in Atlat 7 (1983), pp.102-116.



Map indicating where our Nabataean inscriptions were found:

- (1) The mountains near to the Southern end of Tabūk's arable area.
- (2) Jabal Qā' Abū Murr.
- (3) Jabal Abū Mahkrūq.
- (4) Jabal Šarbūṭ Thulaytha.
- (5) al-Ḥerra.

Jabal Qa^c Abū Murr

Inscription No.1

(Plate I*)

Text

bly šlm ḥnynw br ḥwrw

Translation

Truly peace, ḥnynw son of ḥwrw

Commentary

This inscription is engraved alongside others carved in various Semitic languages. The inscription immediately below it seems to be in classical Arabic, for the second word can be discerned clearly as الله "Allah". Several other Nabataean and Arabic graffiti have been carved nearby. Some of the letters of the inscription are joined, this reflecting the influence of more cursive everyday writing. The proposed reading shown above is only part of the original inscription, the second part of which is very indistinct.

The first word can be read clearly as bly, an interjection, "truly", (see E. Littmann, BSOAS15 (1953), p.5; Cook, Glossary, p.30). This word is notable for the particular style of letter formation. The form of the last letter, y, is similar the letter dates back at least to 270AD (see Healey, MME5, table I, Column 20). The second word can only be read as šlm, the common Semitic noun meaning, "peace", "greeting" (see Cantineau II, p.150; Cooke, Glossary, p.113). šlm is clearly written, and its letters are joined in a way that is seen frequently in other Nabataean inscriptions. The third word may be read as follows: the first letter is ḥ (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222 Column 6). Then comes the letter, n, this is followed by a shape which can hardly be anything other than the form of y, then, n and finally w. Therefore it must be read ḥnynw, a personal name occurs in other Nabataean (see

* Copies of the Nabataean inscriptions will be found at the end of this thesis.
The figure numbers correspond to the inscriptions number.

JS250, JS259:2; CISi 201:2, 354:1, 488A; Euting, Sin, 47:1, 876:1, 173:1, 576:1, 664; Euting, Nab, 5:2; Cooke, NSI, 82:2, 95:1; Cantineau II, p.98; Khraysheh, PNN, p.89). In classical Arabic, حَنَّان means "mercy" (see Lisān 13, p.128). The fourth word is certainly br, "son of", a very common Nabatean singular construct noun (see Cantineau II, p.74; Cook, Glossary, pp.32-33). The next word is to be read as hwrw, a personal name which occurs elsewhere in Nabataean (see JS 5:11, JS50, JS91, JS185, JS251, JS315, JS363; CISi 191:2, 207:8, 212:5, 358; Winnett, Reed 51; Littmann, Nab, 2:1, 40:2, 105:2; Euting, Nab, 14:5; Euting, Sin, 16, 134, 163:1, 174:1, 185, 270, 456; Cooke, NSI, 87:8, 90:5; E. Littmann, BSOAS15 (1953), p.14; Cantineau II, pp.94-95; Khraysheh, PNN, pp.78-79).

Inscription No.2

(Plate I)

Text

qymw šlm

Translation

qymw, peace

Commentary

This inscription is crudely engraved. Its letters are joined. The reading is clear, although the second letter of the first word is rather puzzling. The first letter is a vertical stroke that turns to the left, forming a horizontal line which may have been lengthened accidentally and curves to the right making a semi-circle. It clearly should be read q. This is followed by the unusual shape which is most likely y. Then comes the m, followed by the w, the bottom of which is joined to the end of the vertical leg of m. This method of joining can be found in other Nabataean. Therefore the name must be read as qymw, a personal name mentioned in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi822, 825:2, 1146, 1323, 1339; Euting, Sin, 323, 353; E. Littmann, BSOAS15 (1953), pp.6-7; A. Negev, IEJ31 (1981), p.69; Cook, Glossary, p.104; Cantineau II, p.142; Khrayshah, PNN, pp.159-160). The second word is clearly šlm, "peace", "greeting", found in a manner that can be found also in inscription No.1. The forms of the two letters l and š

date back at least to 267 AD (see Healeg, MME5, table I, Column 19).

Jabal Abū Makhrūq

Inscription No.3

(Plate II)

Text

dkyr bḥb gdyw br

zgyw br gblw

Translation

Remembered for good gdyw son of

zgyw son of gblw

Commentary

This inscription is clearly and beautifully written and its letter can be easily read with the exception of the second letter of the first word on the bottom line. Some of the letters are joined, reflecting regular practice in cursive Nabataean. The forms of the letters date back at least to the end of the first century AD (see Healey, MME5, table II, Column, B-C). The content of this inscription is interesting, for the engraver has mentioned three generations: himself, his father and his grandfather, thus making a full genealogy. It is engraved on a rock which bears two Nabataean and Thamudic inscriptions and a drawing of a mountain goat. This kind of drawing is seen frequently in this area (for more details see E. Anati, Rock-Art in Central Arabia, Louvain 1968).

Line 1: The first word is clearly dkyr, "remember be", masculine singular passive, participle which occurs frequently in other Nabataean inscriptions (see A. Negev, IEJ17 (1967), p.250; Levinson, NAI, p.148; Cook, Glossary, p.40; Cantineau II, p.82). It is then followed by the noun phrase bḥb a compound of the preposition b, "in", "with" (see Cantineau II, p.69) and ḥb, "good", masculine singular absolute which is extremely common in other Nabataean inscriptions (see RES 1383, 1389, 1410, 1449; Euting, Sin, 93, 109:1, 117:1, 128:1; Littmann, Nab, 100; A. Negev, IEJ11 (1961), p.130;

A. Negev, IEJ 31 (1981), p.66; Levinson, NAI, p.163; Cantineau II, p.101). The second b has been lengthened as commonly happens in Nabatean script and is joined to the following letter g. The third word could be read in two ways:

(a) as gryw, a personal name mentioned in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as gry (see Harding, Index, p.160). In classical Arabic it was given as a forename to children who were small at birth.

(b) The second possible reading is gdyw which is the better reading. This name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi492, 619, 620:1, 661, 715; Euting, Sin, 93, 95, 98:1, 102:1, 179:2, 181:1, 196:1, 202:1; Cooke, NSI, 101:4; E. Littmann, BSOAS16 (1954), p.215; Cantineau II, p.77; Khraysheh, PNN, p.53) gdy is perhaps related to the Arabic word جَدْي , "goat", (see Cantineau II, p.77; Cooke, NSI, p.255), for it is well known that the Arabs were in the habit of calling themselves by the names of things around them, such as animals.

Line 2: The first letter of the first word is most likely z. This is followed by a shape which can be described as a triangle without a horizontal base, the left leg curves to the left to form a small stroke while the head of the triangle is circular, it seems that this shape can hardly be anything other than g. The following letter is most probably, y, followed definitely by w. The reading therefore must be zgyw, a personal name, which appears in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as zgy, the root means, "to succeed", "drive along", (see Harding, Index, p.295) and in classical Arabic the meaning of زَجَى is "to push", "to urge", "to drive" (see Lisān 14, p.355). The following word is br, "son of". There is an apparant similarity in the form of the letters of the b and r with the b and r in br in line 1. This is followed by a word which may be read as gblw. The letter g resembles in form the g in gdyw. gblw is a personal name which occurs elsewhere in Nabataean (see CISii 1849:1; Cantineau II, p.76; Khrayshah, PNN, p.52) and also as gbylw (see Euting, Sin, 301:3). In classical Arabic جَبَلْ means, "mountain". It is also used as a predicate of people who

remain firm and are not excited or affected by the adverse events around them.

Inscription No.4

(Plate II)

Text

w^cbdmny br hn'kn

Translation

W^cbdmny son of hn'kn

Commentary

The letters of this inscription, which is engraved immediately above inscription No.3, are carelessly written, shallowly carved, barely legible and irregular in shape. Thus the proposed reading shown above must remain uncertain, since the original is very indistinct.

The first word may be read w, ' , c then b followed by what is perhaps the form of d, which may have been repeated accidentally. The next letter has the form of m. Then comes two joined letters, n (although it may be read as b) and the final shape of y, which both may or may not form part of the first word. Therefore the first word may read as w^cbdm or as w^cbdmny as a personal name. But it may be that the first letter w is the extremely common particle w, "and", (see Cantineau II, p.88). Thus the name may be read as either ^cbdm, a similar personal name which occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ^cbd (see Harding, Index, p.54) or ^cbdmny. Clearly br, "son of", is followed by the second personal name which is easy to make out save for the last letter which is made difficult to read by the semi-circle drawn to the left of the top of its vertical stroke. It may be read as follows: h, n, ' then perhaps the form of k and finally n. Therefore it would read hn'kn, a personal name that may be related to the pre-Islamic Arabian word hnk, "stupid", (see Harding, Index, p.627). In classical Arabic كُنَا means, "a dusty grain", which is sometimes cooked, but this is a foreign loan word (see Lisān 10, p.508). But a second possible way of reading this inscription is: r^c ' br rnmny br hnk'n. The name r^c occurs as a personal name in Palmyrene inscriptions (see Stark, PNN, p.112), r^cy a personal name occurs in pre-Islamic

Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.282). In Biblical Hebrew it appears as a personal name as רַעַי which may be derived from the noun, רֵעַ "friend", (see BDB p.946). The names r^cw and r^cwy are found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Cantineau II, p.147; Khraysheh, PNN, p.167). Then comes the noun br, "son of", followed by the personal name rmny. rmn as a personal name appears in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.288). rmny is maybe either of the same root as the Arabic noun الرُّمْن, "pomegranate", (see Lisan 13, p.186). رُمْن is also a place name situated in the middle of Iraq (see Lisan 13, p.187; Yāqūt 3, p.66) or related to the divine name which mentioned in Biblical Hebrew as רִמְנִי (see BDB p.942).

Inscription No.5

(Plate II)

Text

šlm gšm br w'lw

Translation

Peace, gšm son of w'lw

Commentary

Although this inscription is carefully carved, it is not as regular as some of the others. It is genealogical in content. The letters are joined and that may be due again to the influence of the cursive. The reading of this inscription is not very difficult since the forms of the letters are all known by the end of the first century (see Healey, MME5, table II, column C-E). Therefore the proposed reading shown above is certain.

The first word can clearly be read as šlm, "peace", "greeting". The next word may be read as follows: the first letter is most likely g and it seems that it was joined to the preceeding letter m by accident. It is followed by the letter š, then m in its final form, so that it must be read as gšm, a personal name appearing in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS 104:3; RES 417:2, 1191; Cantineau II, p.80). The second personal name is w'lw, frequently found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS 189, JS190, JS233, JS325; CISi214:2, 245, 359, 365, 377;

538:2, 567; Winnett, Reed 107:2; RES 1135B, 1416, 1434:5, 1482; Euting Nab, 16:2; Euting, Sin, 5, 7:2, 13:1, 637:2, 648; E. Littmann, BSOAS15 (1953), p.15; Littmann, Nab, 81:3; J. Milik, J. Starcky, ADAJ20 (1975), pp.117-118; A. Negev, IEJ 13 (1963), p.124; F. Zayadine, ADAJ21 (1976), p.139). w'l in classical Arabic means, "take refuge", (see Lisān 11, pp.715-717).

Inscription No.6

(Plate II)

Text

dnh nšby' dy 'ḥw'

Translation

This is the pillars of 'ḥw'

Commentary

This inscription can be seen below inscription No.5, yet their different letter-forms and subject-matter suggest that their only connection is the fact that they were written on the same rock and in the same language. The inscription may have a connection with the pillar next to it. The letters of this inscription have unusual forms and could be read in different ways.

The first word can be read as dnh. This form of d is found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Euting, Nab, p.23). The way that the letter, n is joined with the following letter can be found frequently in Nabataean inscriptions. dnh is the singular demonstrative pronoun, "this" occurs in other Nabataean (see CISi159, 164:1, 170:3, 182, 184, 185; Euting, Sin, 410:1, Littmann, Nab, 1:1, 2:1, 27:1, 28:1, 39:1, 41:1, 69:1, 71:1; RES 86:1, 89, 471:1, 1432:2, 1434; Winnett, Reed 16:1, 17:2, 57, 79:1, 92, 111:1; JS 25:1, JS28:1, JS43:2, JS54, JS56; R. Savignac, RB343 (1933), p.575; A. Negev, IEJ11 (1961), pp.133-135; A. Negev, IEJ13 (1963), p.113; J. Starcky, J. Strugnell, RB73 (1966), p.237, Cantineau II, p.83). The first letter of the second word is clearly n and the second is š (see Euting, Nab, p.23). The following two letters can be nothing else but b and y (see Euting, Nab, p.23). The final letter is clearly '. Thus giving nšby', a masculine, plural noun with emphatic ending, "stela" (see RES 1088; Cantineau

II, p.122). In classical Arabic **الْأَنْصَابُ** means "graven image", "idol", "a stone to which worship was paid" (see Lisān 1, pp.759-760). The following word can clearly be read as dy, the particle, "who", "which", "that", "of" which occurs frequently in Nabataean (see JS58, JS82, JS100, JS109:2, JS141:1, JS188, JS189; CISi162, 163:C, 165, 173, Littmann, Nab. 1:1, 2:1, 18, 23:2, 24:2, 27:1, 28:1, Littmann, Semitic, 1:2; Euting, Sin, 416:1, 463:2, 551:2, 643:2; Winnett, Reed 16:1, 57:2, 79:1, 89:2, 91:8, 111:1, 130:1). The following word which could be read 'hw' can be interpreted in two different ways: (a) as a place name, since we know that 'hw' is a place name near al-Basra (see Yāqūt 1, p.118) in which case the inscription would be interpreted as referring to the pillars from 'hw'. (b) as a personal name, which is the better reading, giving "this is the pillars of 'hw'". The personal name 'hwy' occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.31).

Inscription No.7

(Plate III)

Text

w x m k br šly šlm^c bydw br^c bd^c bdt

Translation

w x m k son of šly greeting, ^cbydw son of ^cbd^c bdt

Commentary

The letters of this inscription are carved well, although they are not as regular and beautiful as in some of the other Nabataean inscriptions in this collection. The letters are joined. The way of joining the letters of šly, šlm and ^cbd can be found in other Nabataean inscriptions. The importance of this inscription lies in two things. Firstly, it contains the genealogical details of two different families. Secondly, the letters are engraved in a form which suggests that the inscription may date back to the second century AD (see Healey, MME 5, table I). The letters are, for the most part legible and thus the reading proposed above is almost certain. The only exception is the second letter of the first word this is unclear and makes the word difficult to read. One reason for this may be that it is joined to

the following letter m. Thus the most likely reading of this word is: W, followed by the unclear letter, then m and finally k (see Kugkist, MAS, p.223, Column 6). Then comes the second word br, "son of", the vertical stroke of the b may have been connected to the horizontal stroke of K by accident. The second name is clearly to be read šly, a personal name which appears in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS6:1, JS20:4, JS28:1, JS59, JS121, JS217, JS239; CISi221:4, 208:1, 367, 243, 399; Winnet, Reed 46, 125, 127; Euting, Nab, 11:1, 24:4, Littmann, Nab, 41:2, Cooke, NSI, 88:1, 93:4; E. Littmann, BSOAS 16 (1954), p.221; Cantineau II, p.150, Khraysheh, PNN, p.175) and also, it occurs as šlw, a personal name (see Cantineau II, p.150) السلي in classical Arabic means "placenta" (see Lisān 14, p.396). الشمار, also in classical Arabic means "the remainder of partly eaten animal" (see Lisān 14, p.442). This followed by the well known noun šlm, "peace", "greeting". The next word can easily be made out as bdw, a personal name found elsewhere in Nabataean (see JS233, JS236, JS375, JS378; CIS; 221:1, 323:1, 377, 500, 502:3; CISi 1553:3, 1927; Euting, Nab, 24:1; A. Negev, IEJ31(1981), p.71; Cantineau II, p.125; Khraysheh, PNN, p.133). The next word is br, "son of", followed by the easily read word bdw, a personal name which is attested elsewhere in Nabataean (see JS71:2, JS156:1, JS307:1; CISi188:1, 196:2, 198:11, 207:8, Littmann, Nab, 97:2, Euting, Nab, 12:10, 22:8, 24:7; R. Savignac, G. Horsfield, RB44 (1935), p.269; E. Littmann, BSOAS 16 (1954), p.221; J. Milik, J. Starcky, ADAJ 20 (1975), p.115; Winnett, Reed 92, 104; Cantineau II, p.126, Khraysheh, PNN, p.131).

Inscription No.8

(Plate III)

Text

bdw br tymny

Translation

bdw son of tymny

Commentary

This inscription, although satisfactorily carved has lost some of its

letters as a result of age and erosion. Some of the letters are joined. The joining of the letters of the name ḳbdw can be found in other Nabataean inscriptions. The reading of this small inscription presents no problems, but the unknown shape drawn on the right hand side of the inscription cannot readily be explained as having any connection with the inscription.

The first word is to be read ḳbdw, a personal name found elsewhere in Nabataean (see JS74:1, JS81:2, JS106, JS118, JS128, JS220; CISi394, 761, 941; Littmann, Nab, 94:1, Euting, Sin, 214g, 467; R. Savignac, RB43 (1933) p.578; E. Littmann, BSOAS, 15 (1953), p.5; J. Starcky, J. Strugnell, RB73 (1966), p.237; Winnett, Reed 8, 60, 98, 99, Cantineau II, p.125, Khaysheh, PNN, p.128). The next personal name as follows, t, followed by y and m and then n, which is joined to the preceding m. This way of joining is well known in Nabataean inscriptions. The final letter is y, which is in an unusual form, but a similar shape occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Klugkist, MAS, p.223, column (Noord-Arab). Therefore the name must be read as tymny which means "the one who comes from Tayma". tymny is a personal name appearing in other Nabataean inscriptions as tymw (see JS61:2; CIS; 213:2; inscription No.59 below). In classical Arabic tymw means "one who is enthralled or infatuated" (see Lisān 12, p.75).

Inscription No.9

(Plate IV)

Text

mtyw br 'ddy

Translation

mtyw son of 'ddy

Commentary

This inscription is crudely and badly engraved and its letters have unusual forms. As with the previous inscription, there is an unexplained shape drawn to the right of the inscription. The form of the letters m, t and w occurred in inscription No.8. These forms of these letters date back to the first century AD (see Healey, NMES,

talel II, column A, B, C). The proposed reading shown above is certain save for the last word which is indistinct.

The first word can be read easily as mtyw, a personal name which has the Aramaic ending w. This name may be associated with the Semitic noun mt, "man", which is found in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.439) and in Biblical Hebrew as מֵט (see BDB p.607). In classical Arabic مَت means, "kinship", (see Lisān2, p.88). The next word is to be read br, "son of", followed by the last word which can be read as follows: an oval shape of ' , then an upright stroke that inclines slightly to the left forming a small horizontal stroke. There is little doubt that this is d. This is followed by a shape which could be either d or r. The final letter is most likely to be y. Therefore the word can be read in two ways: (a) as 'dry' which would be a personal name, which in other Nabataean occurs as 'drw', "ruptured" (see Cook, Glossary, p.13; Cantineau II, p.57). 'dr' is mentioned in other Nabataean inscriptions as a place-name (see JS183; Cantineau II, p.56). As a personal name it occurs in Biblical Hebrew as דָּרַךְ (see BDB p.12). In Phoenician the name 'dr' is a title used for deities (see phoen, PN, p.261). (b) the second possibility of reading this name is as 'ddy', which is the better reading. The original significance of the name may possibly be found in the Arabic دَمَدَ , "break", (see Lisān 3, pp.432-433). The personal name دَمَدَاد is known in classical Arabic.

Inscription No.10

(Plate IV)

Text

mtyw 'ṣb^c

Translation

mtyw 'ṣb^c

Commentary

This inscription is carved in large, crude letters, which are joined. Despite the fact that the letters lack elegance they are easily legible and therefore the reading proposed above is more or less definite.

The first word is certainly to be read mtyw, a personal name (see

inscription No.9). There is a similarity in the letter forms with the letter forms of the personal name mtyw in inscription No.9 table below:

Inscription No.9	Inscription No.10

The second word may be read as follows: an oval form of ' , then ς (see Healey, MME5, table II, column A-C), followed by a shape which can only be read as b, and the final letter ϵ . Thus it must be read ' $\varsigma b \epsilon$ ', which is evidently a personal name, although the engraver has not written the noun br, "son of", between the two personal names. ' $\varsigma b \epsilon$ ' as a personal name occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscription (see Harding, Index, p.50). ' $\varsigma b \epsilon$ ' may be associated with the Arabic verb صَبَّحَ , "guide", "direct" (see Lisān 8, pp.192-193). The importance of this word lies in the form of its letters, which suggest a date around the first half of the first century AD (see Healey, MME5, table II, column A).

Inscription No.11

(Plate V)

Text

ϵ bdnkw šlm

Translation

ϵ bdnkw, peace

Commentary

Unfortunately, the letters of this small inscription are carelessly and badly engraved. They have a very unusual formation which renders reading difficult. Thus the text proposed above is not certain. Like most of the inscriptions carved on this site, it is accompanied

by an undefinable drawing. Some of the letters of this inscription are joined.

The first word may be read as follows; the first letter is probably ^c followed by a sign could be b, then comes d which has an unusual shape. The next letter is undoubtedly n, which is followed by what could be the shape of either p or k. The final letter is w, this giving either ^cbdnkw or ^cbdnpw. It is hard to say whether ^cbdnpw is one word or two, but one might tentatively propose that ^cbdnkw is a personal name a compound of the noun ^cbd, "servant", and the personal name 𐤁𐤏𐤍 king of Egypt (see BDB p.647). Finally the last word is badly written, but is certainly to be read as šlm, "peace", "greeting".

Inscription No.12

(Plate V)

Text

šlm ḥmdw br ḥwrw dy mn bnwn

Translation

Peace, ḥmdw son of ḥwrw who is from bnwn

Commentary

This inscription is carelessly and badly written and its letters are shallow and somewhat weathered, and moreover some of the letters have very unusual forms which make the inscription difficult to read. The reading proposed above must therefore be open to question. Some of the letters are joined. Below the Nabataean inscription there is an old Arabic (probably Kufic) inscription written in very shallow and unclear letters. In addition to this there is a primitive and unexplained drawing. The interesting thing with this complete and genealogical in content is that the engraver has included his place of abode in the graffiti.

The first word can be read as šlm, "peace", "greeting". The next word can be read as follows: the first letter is probably ḥ (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222 Column 1), the next letter may be read m. Then comes d and the final letter is clearly w. Therefore it must be read ḥmdw, a personal name appearing in other Nabataean inscriptions as

hmydw (see CIS;210:1; JS3:1; Euting, Nab,13:1; Cantineau II, p.97; Khraysheh, PNN, p.85; Cook, Glossary,p.54).In classical Arabic حَمْد means, "praise", "reward" (see Lisān 3, pp.155-156). Next is the noun br, "son of". The vertical stroke of r is a wavy stroke, which is unusual in shape, followed by the name of the engraver's father, which can be read as follows: h (see Klugkist, MAS, p.223, Petra column), then clearly w, and r which would produce a reasonable reading. The final letter is w although it is in an usual shape. This makes hwrw, a personal name found elsewhere in Nabataean (see inscription No.1). This is followed by the common Semitic particle dy, "who", "of", which appears frequently in Nabataean inscriptions (see Cantineau II, p.81; Levinson, NAI, p.146), which in turn is followed by the preposition mn, "from" another common Semitic word (see Cantineau II, p.115). Then comes the place name which gives this particular inscription its importance. The word itself is not easily made out, but the following reading seems the most reasonable b, n, w and finally n again. The reading therefore is bnwn, known as a place name belonging to the Arab tribe بني تميم (see Lisān 13, p.60).

Inscription No.13

(Plate VI)

Text

šm x y x y br hn't's ntn' šlm

Translation

šmxyxy son of hn't's, the giver, peace.

Commentary

The letters of this inscription, unfortunately are carelessly written and somewhat weathered. Some of the letters have unusual forms, and it seems that someone has tried either to deface the inscription or to carve a fresh one over the original. Thus the proposed reading is open to question.

The only words easily made out being br, "son of" and šlm, "peace". The name of the engraver's father is legible, albeit difficult to interpret, so the first letter is to be read h followed by n which joined

to the next letter ' (could be read also as w). Then comes t, this is followed by the ' and finally the s. The proposed reading is thus h'b't's, which is a personal name compounded of h'n't a name which occurs in Palmyrene inscriptions (see Stark, PNN, p.89). A similar name is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as hnt (see Harding, Index, p.205), and the divine 's (see Cantineau II, p.65). This is followed by a word very shallowly carved, which can be read as follows: n, t and a shape which can hardly be anything else than n and finally ' . Therefore it may be read ntn', which may be derived from the Semitic verb ntn, "give", (see Cantineau II, p.123; Cook, Glossary, p.84). ntn' is a noun with emphatic ending and may be translated as "giver". It is followed by the word šlm, "greeting", "peace".

The name of the engraver is difficult to distinguish, so it is hard to propose any useful reading. The only letters which can be distinguished are the first letter, which may be š, then m. Followed by the shape which is so hard to make out. Next the letter y, followed by the shape which is also hard to read. Finally the y.

Inscription No.14

(Plate VI)

Text

dkrwn l nght

Translation

Remembrance of nght

Commentary

This inscription is carefully and elegantly engraved, although it is not as beautiful as some of the other graffiti. The letters are joined. The importance of this inscription lies in the shape of its letters, which suggests that it may have been engraved as early as the second half of the 2nd century AD (see Healey, MME5, table 1, column 8). Like the previous inscriptions found at this site (such as inscription No.9-11), it began with an unknown symbol. The inscription contains only three words and the proposed reading shown above is quite certain.

The first word begins with d, the following sign is k and is connected to a shape which could be r, then comes the letter w, followed finally by the form of n. This gives dkrwn, "remembrance", an absolute singular noun that appears in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS180:1; CIS; 163A, 169:1, 338:1, 407, 459; RES 1442; F. Zayadine, ADAJ21 (1976), p.139; Littmann, Nab, 100:1; Cook, Glossary, p.40; Canlineau II, p.82). This is followed by the very common particle l, "for", (see Cantineau II, p.109; Levinson, NAI, p.177)

The second word can be read as either bqrt or nqbt. The personal name bqrt might be derived from the Nabataean verb bqr, "examine", (see Cantineau II, p.73) and a similar name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions as mbqrw (see Cantineau II, p.73). But the better reading of this name is nqbt. A similar name is attested in Nabatean, nqbw (see Euting, Sin, 441:2; Cook, Glossary, p.83), and it occurs also as nqybw (see Euting, Sin, 441:2; Cook, Glossary, p.83), and it occurs also as nqybw (see Euting, Sin, 99:2, 153:2; JS269; CISii2173:2, 2244:2, 2768; Cantineau II, p.122; Khraysheh, PNN, p.122; Cook, Glossary, p.83). The verb نَقَبَ in classical Arabic means "to bore", "to make a hole", (see Lisānī, pp.765-770).

Inscription No.15

(Plate VII)

Text

šlm ʿbd'lg' br 'hywg'y'

Translation

Peace, ʿbd'lg' son of 'hywg'y'

Commentary

This inscription is irregularly carved and somewhat weathered. moreover, the engraver has carved the letters of this inscription in an angular way and the letters are squashed together in such a way that reading becomes extremely difficult. Once made out, they comprise a full genealogy, and the proposed reading shown above is more or less beyond doubt.

The first word is clearly to be read as šlm, "peace", "greeting". The second word begins with what can only be ^c (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222, column 2), followed by the letters b, d, ' , l and g. The g has been lengthened and joined to the preceding letter by accident (as has been found in inscription No.5). The final form is certainly ' , and thus the complete word reads as ḳbd'lg', a personal name found elsewhere in Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 157:2, 173:4, 1205:1; E. Littmann, BSOAS16 (1954), p.225; R. Savignac, RB42 (1933), p.415; Cantineau II, p.125; Khraysheh, PNN, p.127, Cook, Glossary, p.87). The name is compounded of the well-known noun ḳbd, "servant", (see Cantineau II, p.125) and the divine name 'lg'' (see Cantineau II, p.76). The second personal name can be read as: ' , h, y, w and g (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222). This is followed by ' , y and finally the letter ' (see Euting, Nab, p.23). Therefore it must be read as 'hywg'y'', a compound of 'hyw', a personal name occurs elsewhere in Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 207:8, 846:3; Cantineau II, p.59; Cook, Glossary, p.15) and 'g'y'' which may be related to the city of g' a city situated near Petra (see A. Negev, IEJ13 (1963), p.114; Cantineau II, p.76).

Inscription No.16

(Plate VII)

Text

ḳbdw br 'skrs

Translation

ḳbdw son of 'skrs

Commentary

The letters of this inscription are crudely carved and some of them started to disappear as a result of environmental factors. Some of the letters of this inscription, which is genealogical in content, are joined. The inscription like others begins with a mysterious symbol. The proposed reading shown above is almost certain.

The first word is to be read as ḳbdw, a personal name which occurs often in this collection (see inscription No.8), followed by the well-known noun br, "son of". The father's name can be read as: ' , s (see Euting, Nab, p.23), then a letter which could be read either as p

(see Healey, MME5, table 1, column 16) or as K (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222 column 7), which is joined to the next letter in a way sometimes found in Nabataean inscriptions. Then follows a letter which could be either d or r and the final letter is certainly s, written in a form frequently found in Nabataean inscriptions. Therefore the possible readings are 'srs, 'spds or 'skrs. 'spds is a Greek personal name, found in Palmyrene inscriptions as 'spdys (see Stark, PNP, p.71). 'skrs is also a Greek personal name and is the most probable reading since it has been found elsewhere in Nabataean inscriptions (see JS 170; Cantineau II, pp.65-66).

Anyway, the father's name is clearly Greek, whereas the son's (ᶜbdw) is Semitic. It may be deduced, therefore that the father was either a Greek (Roman) immigrant who had married a local woman, or simply a native who had been given a Greek name.

Inscription No.17

(Plate VIII)

Text

mšlmw br rmy šlm

Translation

mšlmw son of rmy, peace

Commentary

This full genealogy is elegantly carved in large letters, some of which, since they are joined, prove difficult to read especially in the third word. Apart from this, the proposed reading shown above is certain. Above the inscription there is a mysterious symbol which is extremely difficult to interpret.

The first word is certainly to be read as mšlmw, in which the lower stroke of the š has been lengthened and joined to the m. At the same time the second m has been joined to the following letter, w, by a small horizontal line. mšlmw is a personal name attested in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 318:1; CISii 2123, 2168:1, 2536:2; Euting, Sin, 157:1; RES 1125D, 1384; JS 13:1, JS150; Cantineau II, pp.118, 150; Khraysheh, PNN, p.116; Cook, Glossary, p.79). The following word is the noun br, "son of", and the way in

which b is connected with the following letter, r, can be found in inscription No.7. The third word can be read in two ways: the first letter is either r or d. A similar form of this letter appeared in inscription No.3. This is followed by m. The final letter can only be y, the top end which is joined to the lower end of the left side of the m. The lower end of y is also joined to the lower end of the upright vertical stroke of what is either r or d. The possible readings are dmy, a personal name found elsewhere in Nabataean (see Cantineau II, p.83;

Cook, Glossary, p.40), or my which may be the better reading, also a personal name that is found elsewhere in Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 318:1; JS174; Khraysheh, PNN, p.167; Cantineau II, p.146). The last word is certainly šlm, "peace", "greeting".

Inscription No. 18

(Figure 18)

Text

mtyw br

mtyw br š x x

Translation

mtyw son

mtym son of š x x

Commentary

Although this inscription is very small and carelessly engraved, it can nevertheless be read without great difficulty. The inscription is carved below a Thamudic inscription, and is accompanied by animal shape.

The top line is easy to make out: in mtyw, the form of the m is of an unusual shape. This form of m goes back at least to around 166/9AD (see Healey, MME5, table I column 8) and the shape of y is found also in inscription No.10. mtyw is a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see inscription No.9), followed by the well-known noun br, "son of". Line 2: the first two words are a repetition of the first. The writer, when carving the first line, may have realised that the Thamudic left him no room to complete his inscription (which is an indication that the Thamudic inscription engraved before

the Nabataean). The only letter could be read in the third word is š.

Inscription No.19

(Plate IX)

Text

s^cydw br y^ctw

šlm

Translation

s^cydw son of y^ctw

peace

Commentary

The letters of this inscription are crudely and carelessly written, shallowly carved and somewhat weathered. The proposed reading of this inscription which is genealogical in detail, is beyond doubt save for the second personal name. The letters are joined.

The first word is s^cydw, a personal name, which can be seen frequently in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS296, JS311:1; CISi176:4, 209:1, 220:1; Euting, Nab, 12:3; Littmann, Nab, 80:2; Cooke, NSI, 89:1; Cook, Glossary, p.117; Cantineau II, p.153; Khraysseh, PNN, p.183). The name s^cydw may correspond to the Arabic personal name سَعِيد. The following word is to be read as br, "son of". The second personal name is confusing. The first letter is most probably y carved in a shape found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see inscription No.49). This is followed by ^c, then an unusual form of t, and finally w, which would make the word y^ctw, a personal name. A similar name is found in other Nabataean inscriptions, ^cwtw (see JS123, JS167:2, JS303, Cantineau II, p.128; Khraysseh, PNN, p.137). Line 2: This word is clearly šlm, "peace". The middle l has been accidentally lengthened to join the left stroke of the ^c in line (1).

Inscription No.20

(Plate IX)

Text

^cmrw br 'l^tw šlm

Translation

cmrw son of 'l^tw, peace

Commentary

Genealogical in content, this inscription has joined letters, and it is relatively easy to make out.

The first word could be read as follows: the letter is ϵ , followed by m (see Healey, MME5, table I, column 4), then r, and finally a rather unsatisfactory form of w. The stroke joining the r with the w was made merely by accident. This gives the word ϵmrw , a personal name appearing in many Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi543:3, 548:1, 582; JS220, JS230, JS237, JS261; RES 632:2, 1098, 1429, 1452, 1485; Euting, Sin, 20:2, 21, 68, 90, 163:2, 185, 267; Littmann, Nab, 88:1; E. Littmann, BSOAS 15 (1953), p.6; Negev, IWHs, 19:1, 210:2, 224; A. Negev IEJ3 (1981), p.68; R. Savignac, RB41 (1932), p.591; Cantineau II, p.133; Khayashen, PNN, pp.144-145). The following personal name is to be read easily as ϵlw . ϵly as a personal name is attested in Palmyrene inscription supposedly meaning, "toothless", (see Stark, PNP, p.68). The final word is certainly \mathfrak{M} , "peace", "greeting". The same form of the final m occurs in the first m in the personal name $m\mathfrak{M}w$ in inscription No.17.

Jabal Ṣarbuṭ Thulaytha

Inscription No.21

(Plate X)

Text

brk' br $\mathfrak{M}ymw$ \mathfrak{M}

Translation

brk' son of $\mathfrak{M}ymw$, peace

Commentary

This beautifully engraved inscription comprises a full genealogy. One letter, the middle m, in the third word, $\mathfrak{M}ymw$, appears in a form that began to appear in the late 3rd century (see Healey, MME5, table I, column 20-21), and thus this text is unlikely to be earlier than the third century AD. Engraved upon the same rock is the picture of a camel, and an old Arabic inscription. The proposed reading

shown above is mostly certain with the exception of the first word.

This could be read as follows: the letter, b, followed by r, joined together in a manner seen frequently in these inscriptions (see inscription No.7); then comes a form which could be either n or k. The horizontal stroke of the k has been accidentally lengthened so that it runs into the next letter, ' . The result is brk', a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 331, Khraysheh, PNN, p.50) and the name is found also in other Nabataean inscriptions as brk (see Cantineau II, p.75; Khraysheh, PNN, p.50). بركة in classical Arabic means, "blessing", "benediction" (see Lisān lo, pp.395-396). The next is the noun br, "son of", followed by the name of the engraver's father šlymw, "peaceful", "peaceable", which is attested elsewhere in Nabataean inscriptions (see Winnett, Reed 17:4). Note also the name šlymt which corresponds with the Arabic feminine name سليمة (see Cantineau II, p.151). The name šlymw is neatly written, and the joining of its letters appears to have been deliberate. Also the last word is neatly engraved and is to be read easily as šlm, "peace", "greeting".

Inscription No.22

(Plate X)

Text

^c bdm^lkw

Translation

^c bdm^lkw

Commentary

The letters of this small inscription consisting of one word are carelessly carved and are characterized by their unusual forms. Nevertheless, they are legible.

The word begins with ^c, followed by b and d, joined in a manner found frequently in Nabataean inscriptions, the next letter is clearly m, followed by l, k and w. This gives ^cbdm^lkw, a personal name which occurs elsewhere in this collection (see inscription No.89). The name is found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS76, JS140, JS363; CISi 161, 170:3, 195:1,230:1,426:B;Cooke,NSI,97:3;Cook, Glossary,

p.88; Cantineau II, pp.114, 126; Khraysheh, PNN, p.130). The name ᶚbdmlk may correspond to the Arabic personal name عَبْدُ الْمَلِك .

Inscription No.23

(Plate X)

Text

ᶚ bd'lh

Translation

ᶚ bd'lh

Commentary

This inscription is also small, badly worked and unusually formed. Although it has been carved directly above inscription No.22, the different shapes employed in these inscriptions suggest that they may have been worked by two different engravers.

ᶚ would make the most acceptable beginning followed by B, d, ', l and finally the letter h (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222 column 5). Beyond this the inscription becomes completely illegible. Thus the letter which can be made out over the personal name ᶚbd'lh, a name found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISii 174:1, Cantineau II, p.126), the name ᶚbd'lh is found elsewhere in Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi428, 936:1, 1017:1, 1321; JS61:1; A. Negev, 17 (1967), p.250; Cook, Glossary, p.87; Cantineau II, p.126; Khraysheh, PNN, p.127). The name ᶚbd'lh may correspond to the Arabic personal name عَبْدُ الْإِلَهِ .

Inscription No.24

(Plate XI)

Text

dkyr p'rn šlm bᶚb ᶚdmw br 'xt

Translation

Remembered be p'rn, peace for good, ᶚdmw son of 'xt

Commentary

The letters of this inscription are poorly carved. Some of them are joined. The inscription is engraved alongside other illegible Nabataean graffiti. The reading of these letters is satisfactory with the exception of the final letter of the first word and the last word in the inscription.

The first word is clearly to be read as dkyr, a common adjective that often appears at the beginning of the inscriptions (see inscription

No.3). The second words: p (see Euting, Nab, p.23), then ' , followed by a letter which could be either g or n. This gives either p'rg or p'rn. The personal name prg which may be the same though the spelling is different is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.465). In Nabataean it occurs as prgw (see Cantineau II, p.137). "فَرَج" a personal name, is still used relatively frequently among Arabs. The second reading is p'rn which is the better reading, since it has been found frequently in Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 535:2, 584, 609:2, 644, 753, 897, 900, 1081, 1267; Euting, Sin, 314:1, 420:2, 429, 479:2; Winnett, Reed 127; Khaysheh, PNN, p.151; Cantineau II, pp.135-136). The following word is šlm, "peace", "greeting". This is followed by phrase which to be read as bṯb, "for good". A compound of the preposition b and the noun ṯb, "good", "well". Then comes the second personal name which reads: c, d, then m, and finally the w. This gives ᶜdmw, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Euting, Sin, 175:2, 390; Cook, Glossary, p.89; Cantineau II, p.127). The name ᶜdmw is to be compared with the Arabic name عديم (see Cantineau II, p.127). The following word is the well-known Semitic noun br, "son of". The final word, begins with ' and this is followed by a letter which is extremely difficult to distinguish. The final letter has the shape of t (see Klugkist, MAS, p.223). Therefore it is hard to restore the full personal name. This inscription is interesting since the engraver, p'rn, has omitted to mention his father, while describing in the second part of the inscription a full genealogy.

Inscription No.25

(Plate XI)

Text

dkyr šly br wknw

Translation

Remembered be šly son of wknw

Commentary

Carved upon a rock that teems with old Arabic graffiti, and images of men and animals, this inscription, which is genealogical in content, is one of the clearest and most beautifully engraved in the

collection. Despite the fact that part of the inscription has been carved over in Arabic by another engraver, the latter is bold and legible. This particular style of engraving was current as early as the third century AD (see Healey, MME5, table I, column 18, 19), and thus this inscription is unlikely to be earlier than the third century AD.

The first word is the beautifully carved dkyr, "remembered be", (see inscription No.3). This is followed by the name, which is to be read as šly, also elegantly worked (see inscription No.7). Then comes the noun br, "son of", the r of which appears minus its horizontal stroke, a form which is known in late Nabataean. The last word is the name of the inscriber's father, which could be read as follows, w, then k, the top horizontal stroke of which has been lengthened, thus joining the next letter, n and finally w. This gives wknw, a personal name which may be related to the classical Arabic وَأَكْنُ, "sitting upon the nest", (see Lisān 13, pp.452-453).

Inscription No.26

(Plate XII)

Text

dkyr *hymw* w *šlmn* bny

šy^clhy

Translation

Remembered be *hymw* and *šlmn*, sons of

šy^clhy

Commentary

This inscription also of great beauty is carved on the left side of inscription No.25, and may be just as old, given the particular formation of letters. Like the previous inscription, it is one of the most excellently worked in the area. Like the previous inscription, it is written alongside other old Arabic inscriptions and images of animals. The clarity of the graffiti leaves no doubt about its reading.

Line 1: The first word is clearly to be read dkyr, "remembered be", followed by first personal name, which can be read as follows: h in a form that occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222), then y followed by m, the top of the left leg of which is

joined to the following letter, w. This gives hymw, a personal name found elsewhere in Nabataean inscriptions (see Euting, Nab, 15:2, 38:3; CISi 338:3; Cantineau II, p.95; Khraysheh, PNN, p.82), followed by the particle w, "and". The next word is the second personal name which can be read clearly as šlmn. The form of the final letter n first appears around the beginning of the 3rd century AD (see Healey, MME5, table I, column 21, 24), which suggests that the inscription is unlikely to be of a period earlier than the third century AD. šlmn, a personal name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 294:1, 302:2 426A, JS95, JS 108, JS172:1, RES 1132A, 1186:1, 1189:2; Winnett, Reed 5, 9, 15, 18; J. Milik, Syria 35 (1958), p.244; Cook, Glossary, p.114; Cantineau II, p.151; Khraysheh, PNN, pp.176-177). This name is frequently used today by Arabs as سليمان. The following word is to be read as bny, "Sons" masculine plural construct, found in other Nabataean (see CISi 157:3, 161; JS2:3, JS4:5; J. Milik and J. Stereky, ADAJ20 (1975), p.121; A. Negev IEJ11 (1961), p.127; Cantineau II, p.72).

Line 2: This personal name belongs to father of hymw and šlmn and can be made out as šy^clhy. The shape ' is similar to the Arabic shape of ' , and the form of h is found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Healey, MMES, table I). šy^clhy, as a personal name is attested in other Nabataean inscriptions (see RES 1421; Cantineau II, p.150). This personal name is compound of šy^c, "companion", and lhy, "god", which may mean "companion of god".

Inscription No.27

(Plate XII)

BIA10 (1971), p.59

Text

nhštb šlm

Translation

nhštb, peace

Commentary

This satisfactorily carved inscription shares the same rock with another Nabataean inscription (No.28), and with at least three Thamudic inscription (see BIA10 (1971), p.46), an old Arabic graffiti and finally

with animal images. The form of the letters of this inscription was known at least around the end of the second century AD (see Healey, MME5, table I, column 9, 10).

The first word is to be read as has been suggested by J. Milik as nhštb (see BIA10 (1971), p.59), which is a personal name found elsewhere in other Nabataean inscriptions (see R. Savignac, RB42 (1933), p.412). The next word is clearly šlm, "peace". The form of the final m occurs in inscription No.1

Inscription No.28

(Plate XII)

BIA10 (1971), p.59

Text

šlm khylw mbrmw

Translation

Peace, khylw mbrmw

Commentary

The letters of the first part of the inscription are nicely carved, large and joined deliberately by the inscriber, while its last part is shallowly carved and somewhat weathered, but it can still be made out.

The first word is šlm, "peace", followed by the second word which is to be read as J. Milik suggested, khylw (see BIA 10 (1971), p.57), which is a personal name found elsewhere in Nabataean inscriptions (see CI5i 197:1; Cooke, NSI, 79:1; RES 2077; Euting, Nab, 2:1; Littmann, Nab, 55:2; Cook, Glossary, p.62; Cantineau II, p.106). In classical Arabic كهل , "elderly", "getting the first grey hair". Then comes next the second personal name which contains five signs, the second and third signs were read by J. Milik (see BIA 10 (1971), p.59) as br, "son of", followed by m. This reading ignores the first sign which appears to be M (see Euting, Nab, p.23) and also the last sign which can be read w. A similar shape is found in inscription No.76. Therefore, the word must be read as mbrmw, a personal name found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as mbrm (see Harding, Index, p.525).

Three mountains behind the play-ground in the city of Tabūk

Inscription No.29

(Plate XIII)

Text

'šylw

Translation

'šylw

Commentary

Considering the letter forms the inscription may have been carved during the second century AD (see Healey MME5, table I). The above reading 'šylw, is virtually certain. 'šylw is a personal name, which may be related to the Arabic root سَلَّ, "to pull", (see Lisan 11, p.338) or the Arabic word شَلَّ, "to wither" (see Lisān 11, p.360).

Inscription No.30

(Plate XIII)

Text

mḥnbwk br ḥbnw

Translation

mḥnbwk son of ḥbnw

Commentary

This inscription is carelessly carved, with letter forms that are most unusual. The letters are joined. It is carved immediately below inscription No.29. The proposed reading of this inscription, which is genealogical in content, is uncertain.

The first word may read as follows: the first letter may be an incomplete shape of m, followed by ḥ, and then by a letter which could be read n (see Healey, MME5, table I, column 20). Then followed b (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222 column 7) and w. Finally comes the letter k. This gives mḥnbwk, though since k may have been written by accident, it could be read as mhnbw, a personal name which may be related to the Arabic حَنْبُ, "bent in the loins", (see Lisān 1, p.335). The following word can only be br, "son of", although b has an unusual shape. The next word may be read as follows: ḥ, then an unusual shape of b, which is joined to one of the Thamudic letters by

accident. Next is the letter n and finally an unusual form of w. Therefore it must be read ḥbnw, a personal name that occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ḥbn supposedly meaning "big", (see Harding, Index, p.403).

Inscription No.31

(Plate XIII)

Text

qyṣw

Translation

qyṣw

Commentary

This inscription lies beside a Thamudic and above an old Arabic inscription. The letters can be easily read and so the reading proposed above is certain.

qyṣw, is a personal name, often found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 249; Cook, Glossary, p.104; Cantineau II, p.143; Khraysheh, PNN, p.161). The name is also found in other Nabataean inscriptions as qyṣ' (see Cooke, NSI, 89:9; Euting, Nab, 12:9; Cantineau II, p.143). This name is still current today among Arabs as قيس .

Inscription No.32

(Plate XIII)

Text

ṣnypw

Translation

ṣnypw

Commentary

Like the two previous inscriptions, this consists of just one personal name, easy to make out and well carved. The reading shown above is certain. The upper horizontal stroke of y is joined to the lower end of the semi-circle of p. ṣnypw is a personal name found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi311b:1; JS214; 354; Winnett, Reed 43; Cook, Glossary, p.116; Cantineau II, p.152; Khraysheh, PNN, p.180).

Inscription No.33

(Plate XIII)

Text

nbṭw

Translation

nbṭw

Commentary

Although the letters of this word which is engraved immediately below inscription No.32 are crudely, largely written, they can easily be made out and thus there is no doubt of reading shown above.

nbṭw is a personal name which is found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Cantineau II, p.119; Cook, Glossary, p.80). It was as well known as a tribal name (see Littmann, Nab, 23:8, 28:2, 33, 96; Winnett, Reed 16:2, 79:10, Euting, Nab, 1:4, 4:9; Cooke, NSI, 78:4, 101:11; JS 14:5, JS22:5, JS38:9; R. Savignac, RB42 (1933), p.408; J. Starcky and J. Strugnell, RB 73 (1966), p.237; J. Milik and J. Starcky, ADAJ20 (1975), p.112; Cantineau II, p.119).

(Plate XIII)

Inscription No.34

Text

yd^cl

Translation

yd^cl

Commentary

The letter of this small inscription too, are untidy but easy to make out. Therefore, it may read as yd^cl, a personal name, which may be of the same root as the Arabic دأعل , "runaway", "fugitive", (see Lisān ll, p.244).

(Plate XIII)

Inscription No.35

Text

šlmt

Translation

šlmt

Commentary

The letter of this personal name are clear, despite the fact that the

writer of inscription No.36 has carved some of the letters of his inscription into this word.

šlmt, is a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Winnett, Reed 107:1; Cook, Glossary, p.114; Cantineau II, p.151; Khraysheh, PNN, p.177).

Inscription No.36

(Plate XIII)

Text

zby br šlmy šlm

Translation

zby son of šlmy, peace.

Commentary

The letters of this inscription are shallow and carelessly carved. Moreover some of the letters have very unusual forms. It is a full genealogy. The writer has carved over inscription No.35; which makes the reading of the letters slightly difficult. However, they can be distinguished and read.

It seems that the inscription can be interpreted in two different ways: (a) the first three letters may be considered as the first word, which may be read as zby, a personal name found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Cook, Glossary, p.47). Then comes the two signs which are to be read as br, "son of", followed by the third word, which could be read as šlmy. The y is joined to the preceding letter in a mode known in other Nabataean inscriptions. šlmy is a personal name found in palmyrene as šlmwy (see Stark, PNP, p.114) and as šlmy in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.327). Finally we had originally the word šlm, "peace", which has disappeared because of erosion. (b) the second possibility is that the first four signs may read as h, y, r and finally w. This would give hyrw, a personal name found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Littmann, Nab, 54:1; Euting, Sin, 492; Cook, Glossary, p.52; Cantineau II, p.96), followed the father's name šlmy then comes the noun šlm, "peace". The noun br, "son of", would not have been written. This occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see inscriptions No.10, 28, 42, 63, 83).

Inscription No.37

(Plate XIV)

Text

dkyr klybw br ḥnynw bṭb

Translation

Remembered be klybw son of ḥnynw, for good

Commentary

The letters of this inscription are carefully carved, although they are not as regular and beautiful as in some of the other inscriptions. Some of the letters are joined. The inscription is genealogical in content. The proposed reading shown above is almost certain.

The first word can be read as dkyr, "remember be", (see inscription No.3). The first letter of the next word may be, k (see Euting, Nab, p.23). The line in the k's horizontal stroke may have been made by accident. The following letters are l, y, b and finally w. This gives klybw, a personal name found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi313; CISii 1905:1; JS367; Euting, Sin, 273:1, Cook, Glossary, p.64; Cantineau II, p.107; Khraysheh, PNN, p.100). The second personal name is that of the father of Klybw. This reads: ḥ, n (similar to n form which occurs in inscription No.33), y, again n and finally w. This results in ḥnynw (see inscription No.1), though this personal name might also be read as ḥbybw, a name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Euting, Nab, 24:3; Euting, Sin, 23, JS 188; CISi221:3, Cooke, NSI, 93:3, Cook, Glossary, p.50; Cantineau II, p.93; Khraysheh, PNN, p.75). The last phrase is almost definitely bṭb, "forgood", which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see J. Milik and J. Starcky, ADAJ20 (1975), p.117).

Inscription No.38

(Plate XIV)

Text

glpw br 'wšw dy mn lbn šlm

Translation

glpw son of 'wšw, who is from lbn, peace

Commentary

This inscription is carefully carved. The importance of this inscription lies in the information that it provides, for apart from carving his own name, the writer has mentioned where was probably his birth of place, lbn. These form of letters are well-known in Nabataean around the second century AD (see Healey, MME5, table I), and the reading is certain.

The first word can be read as follows: g (see Klugkist, MAS, p.233; Healey, MME5, table I, column 2, 6), l, p and finally w, giving glpw, which is a personal name found in Palmyrene inscriptions as glwp (see RES 817:4). A similar name occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as glp (see Harding, Index, p.165). In classical Arabic is جَلْفُ a "small piece of skin", the root is جَلَفَ "peel", "scrape off", (see Lisān 9, pp.30-31). Next comes the name of glpw father's which can also be read clearly: 'wšw, a very common Semitic personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 163:1, 341, 623:2, 879, 1024, 1159:1; JS50, JS83:2, JS226, JS258, JS380; Euting, Sin, 11:2, 24:2, 33, 34, 69A, 78:2, 83:1, 92, 95; Littmann, Nab, 6:2, 24:4, 100:1; E.Littmann, BSOAS 15 (1953), pp.6, 10; E. Littmann, BSOAS16 (1954), p.223; Winnett, Reed 51; Cook, Glossary, p.14; Cantineau II, pp.57-58; Khraysheh, PNN, p.20). The following word is to be read as dy, "who", the particle well-known in Nabataean. This is followed by the preposition mn, "from", which is also common (see Levinson, NAI, p.182). Then comes mention of the place name, which is to be read as lbn, which may be the name of a tract of land situated in نَجْدٌ at Yamāmh (see Yāqūt 5, pp.11-12). In classical Arabic lexicon اللب is used of a place rich in grassland and livestock (see Lisān 13, p.372-378). The last word is clearly šlm, "peace", "greeting".

Inscription No.39

(Plate XV)

Text

sydw br

qrh šlm

Translation

ṣydw son of

qrh, peace

Commentary

The letters of this inscription are carved in a very shallow way as in inscription No.36. It contains a full genealogy and the letters are joined. The inscription is carved between the two Nabataean inscriptions NO.37 and No.38. Although the inscription is shallow, the letters are distinguishable and not difficult to read. Therefore, the proposed reading shown above is fairly certain.

Line 1: The first letter of the first word is to be read either as q (see Euting, Nab, p.23) or s (see Healey, MME5, table I, column 16), then comes y, followed by either d or r and finally the shape of w. This gives qydw, sydw, syrw or qyrw, but the better reading is sydw, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 158:3; Cook, NSI, 102:3; Cook, Glossary, p.101; Cantineau II, p.140; Khraysheh, PNN, pp.156-157). This is followed by the noun br, "son of".

Line 2: The first word can again be read in two different ways: (a) as qrh, a personal name which appears in other Nabataean inscriptions as qrhw (see CISi 984:2, 1084:2; CISii 1492, 1565:2, 1573; Euting, Sin, 58:3, 500:2, 616:2; Cantineau II, p.144; Khraysheh, PNN, p.162; Cook, Glossary, p.106). قَرَحَ in classical Arabic mean, "hurt with word", and قُرَحَ means "the first three nights of a month". (see Lisān 2, pp.557-562). (b) the second reading is ṣdh, a personal name which may be of the same root as the Arabic صَدَحَ, "to cry out", "shout", "sing", "chant". صَدَحَ is used of a heap of stones used as a road-mark, a stony hill (see Lisān 2, pp.508-509). But, since the name qrh is found in Nabataean, it seems that it is the better reading. The final word clearly read as ṣlm, "peace".

Inscription No.40

(Plate XV)

Text

ṣlm ṣydw

Translation

peace, ^cydw

Commentary

This small inscription is easy to read and thus the proposed reading shown is certain.

The first word is obviously šlm, "peace", "greeting", with the letter joined in a manner frequently seen in Nabataean inscriptions, although m has an unusual form, since the left vertical stroke was not been carved. The second word can be read easily as ^cydw, although

the d could also be read as r, giving ^cy^{rw}, which is a personal name found in Biblical Hebrew as יְרֵי (see BDB p.747). The best reading, however is ^cydw, since this personal name is found frequently in Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi197:1, 221:2, 323:2, 452; JS57:1, JS252, JS351; Euting, Sin, 355, RES 1104, 1160, 1418, 1430C; Cooke, NSI, 79:1, 93:1; R. Savignac, RB42 (1933), p.417; Cook, Glossary, p.90; Cantineau II, p.129; Khraysheh, PNN, p.139). In classical Arabic عبد means "celebrate a feast", (see Lisān 3, p.319).

Inscription No.41

(Plate XV)

Text

šlm b^cqt br šly

Translation

peace, b^cqt son of šly

Commentary

This clearly carved inscription, genealogical in content, appears below inscription No.40, and directly above an animal image drawn by some one else. The reading of this inscription is certain with the exception of the second word.

The first word is certainly šlm, "peace". The second can be read as follows: the first letter is either b or d. b seems more likely, given the fact that this form of b appears in Nabataean (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222 column 7). The following letter is clearly ^c, then q and t. Therefore,

the word reads as either b^cqt or d^cqt . d^cqt would be a personal name which may related to the classical Arabic دُعُق, "trampling upon", which is derived from the verb دَعَق, "plunder", (see Lisān lo, pp.98-99). But the more likely possibility is b^cqt, a personal name found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.111). This name is maybe related to the Arabic root بَعَق "to shout", (see Harding, Index, p.111). Then follows br, "son of", and the second personal name which is clearly to be read as šly (see inscription No.7). The method of joining letters used here it is often found in Nabataean inscriptions (for example see inscription No.7).

Inscription No.42

(Figure 42)

Text

šlm ʿbdw šly

Translation

Peace, ʿbdw šly

Commentary

The letters of this badly carved inscription are shallow and eroded. However, the above reading is, save for the final letters of the second and third words, more or less certain. One interesting feature of this item is the omission by the inscriber of the word br, "son of", in between the two personal names. It is unclear whether this was intentional or not (see inscriptions Nos 63, 83).

The first word is clearly šlm, "peace", followed by the first personal name which can be read as: c, b, d and finally the unmistakable form of w. This gives ʿbdw, a personal name (see inscription No.8). The final name is to be read as šly, apparently the name of ʿbdw's father (see inscription No.7).

It may be that the writer's of inscriptions Nos:41 and 42 are brothers, because both inscriptions are carved in the same rock and both even have the same father, šly.

Inscription No.43

(Plate XVI)

Text

šlm klybw

Translation

Peace, klybw

Commentary

The letters of this small inscription are clearly carved. However, the way in which they are joined makes them difficult to make out, and thus the reading proposed above is open to question.

The first word clearly to be read as šlm, "peace". The second word can be read as follows: the first letter could be either d, r or w. This is followed by either b or k, then by l, then comes the unusual form of y, then b and finally w. Therefore the reading is dklybw or wklybw or rklybw, personal names. However, since the letter that follows šlm may have been carved by accident, we may ignore this sign and take klybw as the most acceptable reading. Klybw is a well-known personal name in Nabataean (see inscription No.37).

Inscription No.44

(Plate XVI)

Text

šlm x x x x

Translation

peace, x x x x

Commentary

This word is carved in the middle of the rock, which abounds with Thamudic and Nabataean inscriptions.

This particular word can be made out clearly as šlm, "peace", "greeting". The rest of the inscription unfortunately is illegible.

Inscription No.45

(Plate XVI)

Text

šlm xx x x

Translation

peace, x x x x

Commentary

This word appears immediately below inscription No.44. Apart

from the first word šlm, "peace", and the first letter of the next word, which has the shape of t, the graffiti is illegible. So suitable is this rock for carving that the inscriptions worked upon it are numerous. This has resulted in much overlapping and thus inscriptions such as 43, 44 and 45 are extremely difficult, if not impossible to read.

Inscription No.46

(Plate XVI)

Text

dkyr šy^c 'lhy bṭb

l'lm br whbn

Translation

Remembered be šy^clhy for good
for ever: son of whbn

Commentary

This genealogical inscription, one of the fullest on the site, is neatly carved and easy to make out. The reading proposed above is certain, save for the last word.

Line 1: The first word is clearly dkyr, "remembered", (see inscription No.3). The following word is to be read šy^c 'lhy, a personal name occurs elsewhere in this collection (see inscription No.26). Then comes the well-known phrase bṭb, "for good", a compound of the preposition b, and the noun ṭb, "good".

Line 2: The first word is l'lm, "for ever", also compound of the preposition l, "for", and the noun c lm, "eternity". l'lm is found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS2:5, JS11:7, JS22:3, JS107, JS254, JS281, JS289:2; Winnett, Reed 67; Cook, Glossary, p.92; Cantineau II, p.131). The noun br, "son of", comes next. The form of b is unusual. Followed by name of the father of šy^clhy which could be read as: w, h, followed by a shape could be either b or n and finally the form of the final n. This gives either whbn or whnn. whnn is a personal name which may be related to the classical Arabic verb وَعَنَ "to be weak", (see Lisān 13, pp.453-454). The second possible reading is whbn, which, since it is found in other Nabataean inscriptions

(see JS204; Cantineau II, p.89) is the name likely reading. The equivalent of this personal name in Arabic is the name **وُضْبَانُ** (see JS 204).

Inscription No.47

(Plate XVI)

Text

dkyr x x x

Translation

Remembered be x x x

Commentary

The letters of this word which appears above inscription No.46, are shallowly carved, but can nevertheless be made out as dkyr, "remembered". Unfortunately, the rest of this inscription is impossible to read.

Inscription No.48

(Plate XVI)

Text

dkyr šbytw bḥb

Translation

Remembered be šbytw, for good.

Commentary

Carved beneath inscription No.46. This graffito is carelessly worked with letters that are characterized by their unusual forms. The reading proposed above is not certain.

The first word can be read in either of two ways: (a) if we take the first two letters to be part of one word, the first section of which is missing, then these could be read as either d or k, followed by the form of the word br, "son of". (b) alternatively, all four of these letters could be considered as a single word in which case the best reading would be: d, k, y and r, to give dkyr, "remembered". This is preferred. The second word can be made out easily as: š, then b, y, t and finally w, giving šbytw, a personal name found in other Nabataean inscriptions (JS4:5; Cantineau II, p.148; Khaysheh, PNN, p.169). The final phrase is to be read as bḥb, "for good".

Textzbd br y^cmr

šlm

Translationzbd son of y^cmr,

peace

Commentary

The letters of this inscription are distinct but formed in a way that renders reading difficult. Thus the reading proposed above is, at best tentative. A full genealogy, this inscription is carved on the edge of a mountain top, and is surrounded by at least four other Nabataean inscriptions, plus a Thamudic inscription and drawings of animal figures. The letters are joined.

Line 1: The first word can be read as follows: the first letter is clearly z, followed by a shape which can hardly be anything else than b (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222 column 5) and finally the d, so it must be read zbd, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Cook, Glossary, p.46) and as well in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.294, Ryckmans i, p.83). The name zbd may be compared with the Arabic name زيد (see Ryckmans i, p.83). The name is found in other Nabataean inscriptions as zbdw, (see JS101; CISi 300, Cook, Glossary, p.47; Cantineau II, p.91; Khaysheh, PNN, p.72): br, "son of", comes next. The following word is mostly read as y^cmr. The way in which the m is joined to r can be found frequently in other Nabataean inscriptions. The name y^cmr may be related to the same root at the Syriac ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, "life", (see Bic.Syr p.256). In classical Arabic عَمْر means, "life", (see Lisān 4, pp.608).

Line 2: The only word in this line is to be read easily as šlm, "peace", "greeting".

Inscription No.50

(Plate XVII)

Text

šlm ḥmyn br ʿyrw qyn'

ḥṭḥ l ʿlm

Translation

Peace, ḥmyn son of ʿyrw the smith
for eternal good.

Commentary

This inscription, a full genealogy, is one of the best carved of the whole group. Its letters are joined. The importance of this item stems mainly from two features: the form of the letters, which possess great elegance and style and which may date to the end of the first century or the beginning of the second century AD (see Healey, MME5, table I), and the fact that a man's profession is mentioned along with his name, something unprecedented in these inscriptions. The proposed reading shown above is certain.

Line 1: The first word is certainly šlm, "peace". The second word can be read as follows: the first letter may be read *h* (see Healey, MME5, table I, column 6, 7; Klugkist, MAS, p.223), then *m*, followed by *y* (although it may conceivably be the medial form of *m*) and finally the *n* which is joined to *y* (perhaps by accident). Therefore the reading of this word is probably ḥmyn, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 222:3; Euting, Nab, 25:3; Cook, Glossary, p.54; Cantineau II, p.97; Khaysheh, PNN, p.86). The noun *br*, "son of", comes next, followed what could be read as ʿyrw, a personal name found in Biblical Hebrew as אֶרְוָה (see BDB p.747). Then comes the noun which denotes the man's profession, which is to be read as qyn', the *q* is connected to the third letter *n*. qyn' is a masculine singular noun in the emphatic state meaning "smith". This noun is found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Cantineau II, p.142; Cook, Glossary, p.104). qyn' may be related to the classical Arabic قَيْن, "smith", (see Lisān 13, p.350).

Inscription No.51

(Plate XVII)

Text

phrw

m x n x x x w'

šlm

Translation

phrw

mxnxxxw'

Peace

Commentary

This inscription, worked to the left of No.49, is carelessly and badly carved. Furthermore it is shallowly written and has been eroded in places. The second line can not be made out.

Line 1: This consists of one word, the first letter is p, followed by h, then r and w. This gives phrw, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Littmann, Nab,41:1, Cantineau II, p.136; Khraysheh, PNN, pp.151-152). The name phrw may becorrespond to the Arabic personal name فهر, which still in use among the Arabs.

Line 2: Defies interpretation since the letters are too faint to be made out. Those which can be read are m, x, n, xxx, w'.

line 3: This is also consists of one word, easy to read, šlm, "peace", "greeting".

Inscription No.52

(Plate XVIII)

Textlš^hbw br swdt w ^cwbd'

'lzhmy

TranslationFor š^hbw son of swdt and ^cwbd'

who is from zhmy

Commentary

This inscription is worked with unusual letter forms, and is so

shallow, that reading it is extremely difficult. It is interesting however, on two counts: firstly, it refers to two different persons. Secondly, the language is apparently Arabic, which suggests that the writer may have been an Arab who wrote in Nabataean. The Arabic definite article 'l (**لـ**) is found in the inscription, the first time it has been found in this collection of graffiti.

Line 1: The first sign can hardly be anything else than the particle l, "for". The second word is to be read as follows: ṣ the c and b, and finally the w. This gives $\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{bw}$, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi286,1171:2, 1270:1,1457G; CISii 1576:2; Euting, Sin, 6:2, 207:2, 219, 438:2; Winnett, Reed 77; Cook, Glossary, p.102; Cantineau II, p.140; Khraysheh, PNN, p.157). The name $\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{bw}$ corresponds to the Arabic personal name **صَبَب** (see Cook, Glossary, p.102; Cantineau II, p.140). The next word is **br**, "son of", worked in an unusual form. Then comes the next word, which can be read as follows: s, followed by w and d, which is topped by a diacritic point. This may have been used to distinguish the d from the r on occasions when both letters appears together in the same inscription. Anyhow diacritics begin to appear in the Palmyrene, Syriac, North Mesopotamian tradition at an early date. The earliest clear Palmyrene instance is date to 160AD. The system used was quite different from that in Nabataean: ultimately the point above r distinguished it from d which had a corresponding point below. This is the usage reflected in the first Syriac manuscripts as in the manuscript of 411AD (see Healey, MME5, forthcoming). Then comes the clearly defined shape of t, giving the word **swdt**, a personal name found in other Nabataean inscriptions as **swdw** (Cook, Glossary, p.112; Cantineau II, p.149). The personal name **swdt** is attested in pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.335). The particle w, "and", comes next. Then comes a word that is very difficult to make out, there are several possible readings: $\text{c}^{\text{w}}\text{wpr}'$, $\text{c}^{\text{w}}\text{wkr}'$ or $\text{c}^{\text{w}}\text{wbd}'$. The best reading may be $\text{c}^{\text{w}}\text{wbd}'$, since it is more familiar in Nabataean inscriptions. The name appears in other Nabataean as **bydw** (see JS236; CISi221:1, Littmann, Nab, 23:3; Euting, Sin, 179:2; E. Littmann,

BSOAS 15 (1953), p.10; A. Negev, IEJ31 (1981), p.71; Cantineau II, p.125; Khraysheh, PNN, p.133).

Line 2: This word is also hard to read. It begins with ' followed clearly by l then by either n or z. Then comes either h or h and m joined to the final letter, y. Thus the possible readings are 'lzhmy, 'lzhmy or 'lnhmy or 'lnhmy. The word 'lzhmn is found in Nabataean as a place name (see JS180:4; Cantineau II, p.91). This place name appears in Arabic as زُهمان (see Yāqūt 3, p.162). zhmn and zhm are personal names found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.303; Oxtoby, Şaf, p.145). In Biblical Hebrew זְהִי occurs as a personal name (see BDB, p.263). The name may be derived from the verb זָהַי, "to be foul", זָהַי "to make fetid", (see BDB, p.263); Dic-Syr p.85). In classical Arabic the verb زَهَم "to repel", (see Lisān 12, pp.277-279). On the other hand, 'lzhmy may be a better reading, because zhm is one of the names of Makkah. In classical Arabic زَحَم is "to press one another", (see Lisān 12, p.262). The using of Arabic article 'l is found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS 17:7, JS180:4; CISi1270:3; Cantineau II, pp.61-62).

Inscription No.53

(Figure 53)

Text

zydw

Translation

zydw

Commentary

This personal name is carved on the right side of the rock. The letters are shallow, but easy to read with the exception of the last letter which is probably w.

Therefore, the reading is zydw, a personal name which appears in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 157:2, 236:2, 244:2, 268:2, 261:1; JS166:1, JS215, JS383; Euting, Sin, 7:2, 63, 178, 200:2, 235:1, 261; Winnett, Reed 26, 44, 67, 70; E. Littmann, BSOAS16 (1954), p.221, R. Savignac, RB43 (1934), p.575; Cook, Glossary, p.48; Cantineau II, pp.91-92; Khraysheh, PNN, pp.73-74). The name

zydw may be corresponds to the Arabic personal name ذيد .

Inscription No.54

(Plate XVIII)

Text

šnypw

Translation

šnypw

Commentary

The letter of this item is crude, but not inelegant. They can be easily made out and the best reading is šnypw, a personal name which appears elsewhere on the same site (see inscription No.32). It could be that the same person carved his personal name twice. The only difference in the shape of the letters between this and inscription No.32 lies in the form of the y, which is here unusual.

Inscription No.55

(Plate XVIII)

Text

wrlt

Translation

wrlt

Commentary

The letters of this name are easy to read. The way in which the final t is joined to the preceding letter is found frequently in Nabataean inscriptions. Although this word may be read wdlt, it seems that the best reading is wrlt, a personal name which may be related to the Arabic, وُرْل, "a large venomous lizard", (see Lisān 11, p.724).

Inscription No.56

(Plate XVIII)

Text

šlm

cytw

br twts

'qtyr'

l'm

Translation

peace

^cytw

son of twts

the officer

for ever

Commentary

The letters of this inscription, which is a full genealogy, are untidily carved and some of them have very irregular forms, which render an accurate reading quite difficult. The personal name twts suggests that the father of the writer of this inscription was Greek. He may have settled in the area. Despite the fact that the item can be made out only with difficulty, the reading proposed above is more or less beyond doubt.

Line 1: This word is undoubtedly to be read as šlm, "peace", "greeting". The final m is of an unusual form, since its lower horizontal stroke is missing.

Line 2: This word can be read as follows: The first letter is ^c, followed by y. In this point, line 2 is interrupted by the lengthening of both legs of m. However, the third letter can be read n, of which the upright vertical line curves to the right and joins the left leg of the m by accident, or (and this is the better reading) considering the left leg of the m as the right leg of the t, as this letter may be read t, and the final shape can be read either as y or w. Therefore it may be read ^cyny, ^cynw, ^cyty, ^cytw. It seems that the best reading is ^cytw, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 1119, CISi 2799; Cantineau II, p.130; Khaysheh, PNN, p.140). A similar name occurs in other Nabataean as ^cwtw (see Winnett, Reed 61; Littmann, Nab, 32:3, 75:3, 96B; Euting, Sin, 199; Euting, Nab, 25:2; Cook, Glossary, p.90). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name غَيْث .

Line 3: The first word is clearly to be read as br, "son of". The following word is to be read as twts, a personal name of Greek origin.

Line 4: This word can be read as follows: ', then q followed by t

joined (by accident) to the following letter y. Next comes either k or r and finally ' (see Euting, Nab, p.23). Therefore it must be read 'q^hyk' or 'q^hyr'. The best reading is 'q^hyr', perhaps, "the officer", a noun with singular emphatic ending, which may be derived from the same word origin as the 'q^hwr, ܩܚܪܐ', "actor publicus, an officer who had the supervision of slave and state property" in Jewish Aramaic (see Jastrow p.112).

Line 5: This line consists of one word, which could be read l^c lm, "forever". The second letter ^c has an unusual form.

Inscription No.57

(Plate XVIII)

Text

dkyr^hryn

hmyd w gyd

x x x x x

Translation

Remembered be

hmyd and gyd

x x x x x

Commentary

The letters of this inscription are carelessly worked. Some of the letters are joined, probably not intentionally so. Unfortunately, it seems that someone has tried to deface the third line, and also the last word on the second line is unclear, but apart from this the reading proposed above is acceptable.

Line 1: This is to be read as dkyr^hryn, plural, absolute, participle, passive, dkyryn is found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS290; CISi235A; Winnett, Reed 73; A. Negev, IEJ31 (1981), p.68; E. Littmann, BSAAS16 (1954), p.226; Cantineau II, p.82).

Line 2: The first word is to be read as hmyd, a personal name that occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions with the w ending as hmydw (see CISi 210:1; Euting, Nab, 13:1, Cook, Glossary, p.54; Cantineau II, p.97; Khraysheh, PNN, pp.85-86). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name حميد, which still is used nowadays by the

Arabs. Then the Semitic particle w, "and", followed by a word can be read as: g, y and finally the shape of either d or r to give either gyr or gyd. It seems that the best reading is gyd, a personal name which may be related to the classical Arabic noun جَوَاد, "generous" (see Lisān 3, pp.135-137).

Line 3: Unfortunately, this line is illegible.

(Plate XVIII)

Inscription No.58

Text

dkyr ^cydw

n x x x x '

'mz x x x

Translation

Remembered be ^cydw

n x x x x '

'mz x x x

Commentary

The only word clear enough to be read with any certainty is dkyr. The rest of this inscription, which has some unusual forms, has been defaced.

Line 1: The first word is clearly dkyr, "remembered", the next word consists of ^c, then an unusual shape of y, followed by d and w. This produces the word ^cydw, a personal name which occurs in inscription No.40. The writer carved d twice, probably by accident.

line 2: The letters of this line are very faded, the only ones distinguishable being n, and the last letter ', the signs in between are unfortunately impossible to make out.

Line 3: As the previous line, the letters which could be made out are the first three letters: ' m, z. The rest of the letters have been defaced.

Inscription No.59

(Plate XIX)

There are several inscriptions carved on the face of this rock

(South of Tabūk), many of them overlapping and all of them well weathered. Reading is thus extremely difficult, but from the mass of interlocking graffiti, the following are a few items that can be distinguished: inscriptions Nos: 59, 60, 61, 62 and 63. The photograph of this rock have been given to me by the Department of Antiquities and Museums in Riyadh.

Text

šlm tymw br š^cd'lhy

Translation

peace, tymw br š^cd'lhy

Commentary

This full genealogy, which appears in the middle of the rock, is carelessly and shallowly carved, unusually formed, and badly weathered. Nevertheless, the reading proposed above is more or less certain.

The first word begins with what is probably š, followed by the letter l and a shape which is very difficult to make out, but m is the only letter which would complete the word, giving šlm, "peace". The following word would be read tymw, a personal name which occurs frequently in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 157:3, 176:2, 213:2, 243, 259:1, 276, 295, 318:2; JS61:2, JS109:1, JS118, JS157:2, JS176:1, JS243, JS255, JS277:1, JS311:2, JS318, JS364; Littmann, Nab, 69:2; Euting, Sin, 604A; Winnett, Reed 35; Cooke, NSI, 91:2; Negev, IWHs 215; Cantineau II, p.155; Khaysheh, PNN, p.187). The noun br, "son of", follows. Then comes the father's name which could be read as follows: š, then ^c which joined to the following letter d. This is followed by ' and then a letter which has been almost completely obliterated but is probably l. The next letter is h, which is followed by what can only be y. This gives š^cd'lhy, a personal name compounded of š^cd, "good luck", and 'lhy, "god". The name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 217:1, 315, 426A, 490:2; JS51, JS159:1, JS238, JS240, JS328; Euting, Nab, 20:1; Littmann, Nab, 20:1, 75:1; E. Littmann, BSOAS15 (1953), p.5; J. Starcky, ADAJ10 (1965),

p.47; A. Negev, IEJ13 (1963), p.124; Cook, Glossary, p.116; Cantineau II, p.153; Khraysheh, PNN, p.181).

Inscription No.60

(Plate XIX)

Text

šlm 'wšw br rhym

Translation

Peace, 'šws son of rhym

Commentary

Like item No.59, this inscription is untidily carved. Some of the letters are joined. The proposed reading shown above is more or less certain.

The first word is šlm, "peace". The second can be read as follows: the first letter which has been eroded and has virtually disappeared, is most likely '. Then comes the shape of w, which is in an unusual form, but it occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Euting, Nab, p.23). Then comes the š, badly carved, which is joined to the next letter, w, in a manner sometimes seen in other Nabataean inscriptions. The resultant word is 'šws, a personal name which occurs elsewhere in this collection (see inscription No.38), followed by the word br, "son of" (which confirms that the inscription is a genealogy). The father's name can be read as: r, then h (see Klugkist, MAS, p.223) column "Hauran"). Next comes y, and finally an unusual form of m. This gives rhym, a personal name which is found in other Nabataean inscriptions as rhm (see Cantineau II, p.147; Cook, Glossary, p.108). The name may be related to the classical Arabic verb رَحِمَ, which means in the classical lexicon, "to be compassionate, kind, merciful" (see Lisān 13, pp.230-233).

Inscription No.61

(Plate XIX)

Text

tymw šlm

Translation

tymw, peace

Commentary

The letters of this small inscription are neatly carved. Moreover, they are carefully joined which suggests that the joining is more likely to be by design than by accident. The reading proposed above is certain.

The first word is clearly tymw, a personal name which occurs elsewhere in this collection (see inscription No.59). The letter t is connected by its lower left end to the lower end of the y. This particular formation is unprecedented in this collection. The second is clearly šlm, "peace". The lower horizontal stroke of l has been lengthened to join the left leg of m. This also is the first time that such a method of joining has been used in this collection.

Inscription No.62

(Plate XIX)

Text

šlm ʕrqn

Translation

peace, ʕrqn

Commentary

This item is carved to the right of inscription No.61. The letters are mediocre in style, with some unusual forms. It is easy to read, especially the first word, which can be read as šlm, "peace". The shape of l is unusual, in that its upright vertical stroke is smaller than it should be. The following word can be read as follows: ʕ then either d or r, then a shape which could be q (see Euting, Nab, p.23, Klugkist, MAS, p.223 column 7) and finally n, which gives either ʕrqn or ʕdqn. ʕrqn is a personal name found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.416).

Inscription No.63

(Plate XIX)

Text

ʕmhmw

ḥwrw

Translation

ʕmhmw

hwrw

Commentary

Appearing on the top right hand part of the rock, this inscription is carelessly and shallowly worked. Some of the letters have begun to disappear, owing to the age factor. However, they are readily made out and thus the reading proposed shown above is tenable.

Line 1: The reading of this word may be as follows: ^c, then m which has an unusual shape. The following shape can only be h (see Healey, MME5 table II). The next letter is m, then finally comes the letter w. Therefore it may be read as ^cmhmw, a personal name that occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ^cmhm (see Harding, Index, p.442).

Line 2: This word is read easily as hwrw, despite that the fact that the first w is of an unusual shape. hwrw is a personal name which appears elsewhere in this collection (see inscription No.1). Unfortunately, the rest of the inscription is too faint to be made out. As in inscription No.10, the engraver has not written between the two personal names, ^cmhmw and hwrw, the usual br, "son of".

Inscription No.64

(Plate XX)

Text

nb̄w br thynw

Translation

nb̄w son of thynw

Commentary

This full genealogy has large, neatly carved letters which, with the exception of the second one, are easy to read, therefore the reading shown above is almost certain.

The first word is clearly to be read as nb̄w, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see inscription No.33). The father's name can be read as follows: the first letter is t (see Healey, MME 5, table II), carved in a form which is unprecedented among these inscriptions. Then comes either h or *h*, y, next either b or r and

finally w. Therefore, it may be read thybw, thybw, thynw or thynw. thybw might be a personal name which is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as thbb (see Harding, Index, p.129), and this may be derived from the common semitic root hbb, "love", which occurs in Biblical Hebrew as יבב, "love", (see BDB p.285) and the verb also appears in Syriac as ܬܒܒ, "to be dear", (see Dic.Syr p.93). In Nabataean the verb is hbb, "love, like", (see Cantineau II, p.93). In classical Arabic the verb is known as حَبَّ, "be loved". Note also that the personal name hybw is found elsewhere in Nabataean inscriptions (see Cantineau II, p.95). However, the better reading is thynw which is a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions as hn'w (see Cooke, NSI, 93:8, 97: col.1) and as hn't (see J. Milik and J.Starcky, ADAJ 20 (1975), p.124). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name تهاني, which still is used nowadays among the Arabs.

Inscription No.65

(Plate XX)

Text

/dk/ yr hmydw br

Translation

Remembered be hmydw son of

Commentary

This shallow and somewhat weathered inscription is engraved immediately below item No.64.

The first word is to be read dkyr, "remembered", although the clear letters in the first word are the last two, y and r. The following word can be read as follows: h (see Klugkist, MAS, p.223), then m, y, d and w. This gives hmydw, a personal name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see inscription No.57). The following word can hardly be anything than the noun br, "son of". The rest of the inscription is unfortunately impossible to make out.

Inscription No.66

(Plate XX)

Text

bdw br

𐤁𐤨𐤍𐤏

Translation

𐤁𐤨𐤍𐤏 son of

𐤁𐤨𐤍𐤏

Commentary

This is a short and neatly worked inscription, with letters that are joined. The style of joining visible in the first word was widely popular in Nabataean inscriptions. The form of the letters was well known as early as the first half of the second century AD (see Healey, MME5, table I). This inscription is genealogical in content. Line 1: The first word is clearly read as 𐤁𐤨𐤍𐤏, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see inscription No.8), followed by the noun br, "son of".

Line 2: This word could be read as follows: 𐤁, b then either z (see Healey, MME5, table II column A, D and C; Klugkist, MAS, p.222 column 2) or n (see Euting, Nab, p.23) and finally w. Therefore, it must be read either 𐤁𐤨𐤍𐤏 or 𐤁𐤨𐤍𐤏𐤍. The best reading seems to be 𐤁𐤨𐤍𐤏, a personal name which occurs here with the w ending, but is seen elsewhere without w as 𐤁𐤨𐤍 (see CISi324:1; Cooke, Glossary, p.50; Cantineau II, p.93; Khraysheh, PNN, p.76). 𐤁𐤨𐤍𐤏 as a personal name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see E. Littmann, BSOAS 15 (1953), p.14). It may be compared to the personal name 𐤁𐤨𐤍 which occurs in Palmyrene inscriptions (see Stark, PNP, p.87). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name حابن (see Cantineau II, p.93).

Inscription No.67

(Plate XX)

Text

𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 𐤁𐤨𐤍𐤏 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏

Translation

𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 son of 𐤁𐤨𐤍𐤏, peace

Commentary

This inscription is written to the left of inscription No.66, from which it is separated by a well-carved image of a mountain goat,

decorated with four small spots and another more primitive drawing. The inscription is a full genealogy. The letters are neatly and carefully written, and some of them are joined. The reading proposed above is certain.

The first word is to be read as w'lw, a personal name widely employed in Semitic inscriptions and well known nowadays among Arabs as وائل (see inscription No.5). Then comes the unmistakable br, "son of". As in most other inscriptions, the letters of br are joined. The third word can be read as follows: ḥ joined to the next letter in a style often found in Nabataean inscriptions, then either d or r and finally either final n or k. This gives us four possible readings: ḥdn, ḥrk or ḥdk. ḥrk is a personal name which may be related to the Syriac verb ܚܪܟ, "to boil burn", (see Dic-Syr p.116). The verb may occur (once only) in Biblical Hebrew as חָרַק, "move", (see BDB, p.355). In classical Arabic, the verb is حَرَكَ, "move, stir up", (see Lisān 10, pp.410-411). The second possibility is ḥdn, a personal name which occurs in Ugaritic inscription (see Gordon, UT, p.394). ḥdnn and ḥdn are personal names attested in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, pp.179-180). The third reading is ḥdk, a personal name, but the better reading is ḥrn, a personal name which occurs in Biblical Hebrew as חֲרַן (see BDB p.357) ḥrn known in Ugaritic inscriptions as a god name (see Gordon, UT, p.398). The last word in this inscription is to be read clearly as šlm, "peace".

Inscription No.68

Text

dkrwn ḥb ḥgw br šqrw

/š/lm

Translation

Good remembrance for ḥgw son of šqrw
peace

Commentary

Appearing to the left of inscription No.67, this is poorly carved text containing a full genealogy. Its letters are well-formed and they

are also joined (with the exception of the letters of the last word). This item is easy to make out, and thus the reading proposed above is almost certain. Beneath the inscription there are drawings of two mountain goats. The large one decorated with four spots, the smaller one with two.

Line 1: The first word is clearly dkrwn, a noun which appears in inscription No.14. This is followed by the word ḥb, "good", in which the letter b has been lengthened (as often with final b, especially in this word) and is by accident joined to the ḥ. The third word can be read as follows: l, then ḥ, followed by g written in a form well known in Nabataean inscriptions and joined to the final letter, w. This gives lhgw, the l being the particle "of, for" (see inscription No.14). ḥgw, a personal name, occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi680, 1172:2; CISii1500, 1842:1, 2535:1, 3107; E. Littmann, BSOAS 15 (1953), pp.13-14; Cantineau II, pp.93-94; Khraysheh, PNN, pp.76-77). The name occurs elsewhere as ḥggw (see Cook, Glossary, p.50). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name الحجاج. The name of the father can be made out as: š, the form of which dates from the beginning of the third century AD (see Healey, MME5, table I column 20-21), then a letter which could be either š or q, then r, finally w. Thus it must be read ššrw or šqrw. It seems that the better reading is šqrw, a personal name which appears in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS232; E. Littmann BSOAS 16 (1954), p.221; Cantineau II, p.153) and may correspond to the Arabic personal names أشقر أشقر which are current among modern Arabs.

Line 2: This line consists of just one word, šlm, "peace" written immediately below dkrwn.

Inscription No.69

(Plate XXI)

Text

dkyr zby'l br pmsps ḥḥ

Translation

Remembered be zby'l son of pmsps, for good

Commentary

This inscription appears beneath inscription No.68 and above the drawing of mountain goats. It is a full genealogy. The letters of this inscription are shallowly carved and some of them have unusual forms. The reading proposed above is certain save for some of the letters in the first personal name which, since they are extremely small, are difficult to make out.

However, the first word is dkyr, "remembered". The form of the letters in this word is well known and appear frequently in Nabataean. The second can be read as follows: the first one is most likely to be z, then comes the shape of b (see Euting, Nab, p.23), the next clearly is y, then '. Between ' and y there is a small stroke which seems to have been carved accidentally and the final letter is l, thus giving Zby'l, a personal name compound of zby (see Cook, Glossary, p.47), and the well-known Semitic divine name 'l (see Cantineau II, p.62). The second word is to be read br, "son of", followed by the name of the father of Zby'l, which can be read clearly as pmsps, a personal name that is either of Greek or Egyptian origin. It may be deduced, therefore, that the father was either a Greek or Egyptian immigrant who had married a local woman, or simply a native who had been given a Greek or Egyptian name. Finally comes bḥ, which is nicely written.

Inscription No.70

(Plate XXI)

Text

ʕbdʕbdt br ḥyn šlm

Translation

ʕbdʕbdt son of ḥyn, peace

Commentary

This inscription is a full genealogy, carved in a rock which carries an old Arabic inscription in the top left corner and a Thamudic inscription below it. The letters are large and easy to read. Some of them are joined.

The first word is clearly read as ʕbd ʕbdt, a personal name occurs

in this collection (see inscription No.7). The way in which the letters of ḥbd are joined is well known in Nabataean inscriptions. br, "son of", is next, followed by a word which can be made out as follows: the first letter can be read either as t or h, then y, and finally n, carved as a large vertical stroke. Therefore this word could be either tyn or hyn, though it seems that the better reading is hyn, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 227; JS122, JS199, JS372; Euting, Nab, 51; Winnett, Reed 58, 100; Cook, Glossary, p.52; Cantineau II, pp.95-96; Khraysheh, PNN, p.82). This name may be the equivalent of the Arabic personal name حيان. The next word is carelessly carved, but more or less legible as šlm, "peace".

Inscription No.71

(Plate XXII)

Text

dkyr 'l šmḥt

Translation

Remembered be 'lšmḥt

Commentary

Although the letters of this inscription are neatly written, the texture of the rock is such that reading is quite difficult. There is an Arabic inscription carved below it, which could be read لا إله إلا الله.

The first word is to be read as dkyr, "remembered" (see inscription No.3). The second word can be read 'lšmḥt, a word which could be interpreted in two different ways. (a) 'lšmḥt could be a personal name formed from the well-known Semitic divine name 'l and šmḥt a personal name appears in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.359). It also occurs as a personal name in Biblical Hebrew as שִׁמְחָה (see BDB p.1035). This interpretation is more or less unlikely because the personal name has the feminine ending, though the divine name 'l is found elsewhere attached to the personal name as 'lšwp and 'lkxy (see Cantineau II, p.62). (b) a second possibility is that we could consider 'l to be the Arabic definite article, we would have 'lšmḥt, this is known in other Nabataean inscriptions as 'lhrt, 'lw'lt and 'lbrw (see Cantineau II, p.61). This may be equivalent to the feminine form family Arabic name like الرقية

Inscription No.72

(Plate XXII)

Text

'šlm br nḥmn šl/m/

Translation

'šlm son of nḥmn peace

Commentary

This full genealogy is neatly carved with large letters joined in a form that is well known in other Nabataean inscriptions.

The first word is clearly to be read as 'šlm, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS284, JS332; Cantineau II, p.151). This name corresponds to the Arabic personal name أَسْلَمَ (see Lisān 12, p.299). The third word can be read as follows: the first letter is either z or n, then ḥ (see Healey, MME5, table I column 18; Klugkist, MAS, p.222 column 6), then a letter which can hardly be anything else but m, and finally n (a similar form to this appears in inscriptions Nos 38 and 46). Therefore, it must be read as nḥmn, although it could be read as zḥmn which could be associated with the name zḥm, one of the names of Makkah, (see inscription No.52). The other possibility is to read nḥmn, a personal name attested in Phoenician inscriptions as nḥmy (see Phoen, PN, p.146) and also in Biblical Hebrew as נְחֻמַּי (see BDB p.637). The name is derived from the Semitic verb, which occurs in Ugaritic as nḥm, "to console", (see Gordon, UT, p.443). The final word can be made out clearly as šlm, "peace", although the letter n is invisible.

Inscription No.73

(Plate XXIII)

Text

dkyr gymt

bḥb

Translation

Remembered be gymt

for good

Commentary

This inscription which contains only one personal name is carved on

the top of a fallen rock. Its letters are beautifully carved and some of them are joined. The proposed reading shown above is quite certain.

Line 1: The first word is clearly dkyr, "remembered", followed by the personal name which can be read without any difficulty as qymt, a name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS324; CISi 366, 368:1, 371:1, 400:1, 404:1; RES 1398; R. Savignac, RB 42 (1933), p.417; Cantineau II, p.142; Khraysheh, PNN, p.160). From the point of view of the letter-forms of t, m, y and k, this inscription may date back as early as the middle of second century AD (see Healey, MME5, table I column 8).

Line 2: Is clearly bṯb, "for good".

Inscription No.74

(Plate XXIII)

Text

dkyr tym'lhy

bṯb xxx

Translation

Remembered be tym'lhy

for good xxx

Commentary

This inscription which appears below inscription No.73, also contains only one personal name. The letters are untidily carved and quite shallow. Furthermore, part of the second line has faded considerably, and thus the letters are difficult to make out. However, the reading proposed above is certain.

Line 1: The first word is dkyr, "remembered". There is a great stylistic difference between this dkyr, which is badly carved, compared to the same word in the previous inscription. The second word can be read as follows: the first letter is t (see Healey, NME5, table I, column 3, 7; Euting, Nab, p.23), then y, followed by m, ' , l, h and y. This gives the personal name tym'lhy, which occurs in other Nabataean inscription (see JS 307:2, JS323; CISi 204:1, 516, 673, 683:1, 851, 920; Euting, Sin, 374, 442:2, 449:2, 457:1, 673; Euting, Nab, 7:1; Winnett, Reed 87; R. Savignac, RB42 (1933),

p.411; E. Littmann, BSOAS15 (1953), pp.11, 14; Cook, Glossary, p.120; Cantineau II, pp.155-156; Khraysheh, PNN, p.186.

Line 2: The first word is bḫb, "for good", with *ḫ* in an unusual form. The next word has faded and cannot be deciphered.

Inscription No.75

(Plate XXIII)

Text

tymw br šrmw

Translation

tymw son of šrmw

Commentary

Surprisingly enough, though this piece of rock is extremely suitable for engraving, it being only this one small inscription, plus a primitive drawing. This graffiti is weathered and the last word almost obliterated. Some of the letters are joined. The proposed reading is certain except for the last word.

The first word is to be read clearly as tymw, a personal name which occurs in this collection (see inscription No.8). The last name, that of his father can be read as follows: š, then either r or d, followed by m, and finally w. So the word is either šrmw or šdmw. The personal name šddm is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.343). šrmw, on the other hand is a personal name which occurs in Phoenician inscriptions as šrm (see Phoen, PN, p.426). The personal name šrm also occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.347).

Inscription No.76

(Plate XXIV)

Text

rqw br

plw

Translation


rqw son of

plw

Commentary

This genealogical graffiti is carelessly carved, with letters that have

an unusual forms. The reading proposed above is clear.

Line 1: The first word can be made out as follows: r, followed by what is either s or an unusual shape of q, and finally the w. Thus this gives rsw, rqw. The name rsw would be a name derived from the Semitic root rss, in Hebrew , "break", (see BDB p.944). In classical Arabic the verb is رَسَّ "pacify", (see Lisān 6, pp.97-99). rsy is a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS34:7). It may mean "farm" (see Cantineau II, p.147). Another way of reading this is rqw. The best reading may be to see it as the equivalent of an Arabic personal name, رَقِ , this name is still used today and it may be related to the verb رَقِيَ , "to be delicate, fine", (see Lisān 10, pp.121-122).

Line 2: This name may be read as plw, a personal name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see A. Livingstone and others, Atlat 9 (1985), p.142). The name also occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as plw (see Harding, Index, p.472).

Inscription No.77

Plate XXIV)

Text

šlm rbybw br mšlmw

Translation

peace, rbybw son of mšlmw

Commentary

The inscription is carved in a fallen rock and appears beneath a primitively carved animal image, and above a drawing of a human. A full genealogy, it is neatly carved and some of the letters are joined. The item is easy to make out.

Thus, the first word is šlm, "Peace", followed by the first personal name which can be read as follows: the first letter is either d or r. There is special interest in this letter that a dot appears above the horizontal stroke of the r, which appears elsewhere on the top of d (see JS181; inscription No.52). This dot may have been used to distinguish the r from the d on occasions when both letters appeared together in the

same inscription. Here the dot appears on the r of the first personal name and on the r of the noun br. The following letter is b (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222 column 6). Then comes the y, b again and finally w to give rhybw, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions as rhyb' (see Cook, Glossary, p.107) and also rhyb'l (see JS34:7, JS84; Winnett, Reed 3, 45; Cantineau II, p.145; Khraysheh, PNN, p.163). This name may originate from the Semitic root, which occurs in Biblical Hebrew as רַב־רַב, "be or become many, much", (see BDB p.912). Alternatively, it could be read as drydw, corresponding to the Arabic personal name دُرَيْد which is still in use today. The second personal name can be read as mšlmw, a personal name occurs in this collection (see inscription No.17). The two projecting horizontal strokes of the š have been lengthened accidentally and connected to the preceding m. Also the way in which the second m is joined with the following w is found sometimes in other Nabataean inscriptions.

Inscription No.78

(Plate XXV)

Text

dkyr ḥwrw bṭb

Translation

Remembered be ḥwrw for good

Commentary

This inscription is somewhat weathered. There is a mysterious symbol drawn to the right hand side of the inscription. The reading shown above is certain.

the first word can be read as dkyr, "remembered". The second word is to be read ḥwrw, a personal name which occurs elsewhere in this collection (see inscription No.1). Finally the phrase bṭb, "for good". The engraver of this inscription has not mentioned his father's name, as is also the case in inscriptions Nos 14, 27 and 28.

Inscription No.79

(Figure 79)

Text

ḥbynw br gxx mšlmw bṭb l ḥlm

Translation

ʕbynw son of gxx mšlmw for good forever.

Commentary

Like the previous item, this full genealogy is weathered and not very easy to read, due to the age factor. Some of the letters are joined. They also have unusual forms.

The first letter of the first word could be read c, then b and y, followed by n (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222 column 4) and finally ' or w. This gives ʕbyn' or ʕbynw. But it seems that the best reading is ʕbynw, a personal name that features in other Nabataean inscriptions as ʕbyn (see JS229:2; Cantineau II, pp.126-127). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name عبيان (see Cantineau II, p.127). Then comes a word very hard to make out. The first letter could be either g or h. The next two signs are very difficult to make out and are followed by the personal name mšlmw, (see inscription No.17) which is very shallowly written. The following word is hardly visible but it can be distinguished and read as bṭb, followed by l ʕlm, "for ever", which extremely shallowly.

Inscription No.80

(Plate XXVI)

Text

ʕbd br ʕmmt zkr

Translation

ʕbd son of ʕmmt, remembered (be he)

Commentary

The first part of the inscription is carelessly written, and its letters are smaller in shape than the second part, which may be due to the rock quality. The proposed reading shown above is uncertain because of unclear writing.

The first word could be read as ʕbd, a personal name which appears in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Cantineau II, p.125). The second word is br, "son of", although it is badly carved and it is followed by the third word, which could be read as ʕ, then m and again m (the joining between these two letters is merely by accident)

and finally t. Therefore this word must read ᶚmmt, a personal name which occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.441). But in other Nabataean inscriptions the name occurs as ᶚmmw (see CISi402:2, 452, 536, 683; JS272; E. Littmann, BSOAS15 (1953), p.12; Cantineau II, p.132; Khraysheh, PNN, p.144). The following word consists of three signs, which can be read as zkr, which is hard to explain. It may be the Aramaic zkr, "remembrance", (see Brauner, CLOA, p.162), which the equivalent of the Nabataean dkr, which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS237; Cantineau II, p.82). It occurs in Biblical Hebrew as רִזְרָא, "remembrance", (see BDB p.271).

Inscription No.81

(Plate XXVI)

Text

ᶚdwn b/r/phrw šlm

Translation

ᶚdwn son of phrw, peace

Commentary

This inscription is written below item 80 to the right of the rock. It is a full genealogy and is carelessly and badly carved.

The first word is to be read as ᶚdwn, a personal name which occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.410). It may correspond to the Arabic personal name عَدْوَان, which is still in use today among the Arabs. This name is followed by a shape which could be r. Therefore the preceding letter should be b, to give br, "son of", followed by the personal name which can mostly be read phrw, which is found elsewhere in this collection (see inscription No.51). This name corresponds to the Arabic personal name فهر. The final word is certainly šlm, "peace".

Inscription No.82

(Plate XXVI)

Text

pt/ht

Translation

pt/ht

Commentary

This small inscription just contains one personal name, which could be read as ptht, it could be interpreted in two different ways:

- (a) as a feminine personal name. This name (ptht) may corresponds to the Arabic feminine personal name فَتْحَة which is still in use today among Arabs.
- (b) the second possibility is that ptht, a masculine personal name in a feminine form. This form is found frequently in other Nabataean inscriptions as qymt (see inscription No.73). Anyhow ptht as a personal name is attested in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.461).

Inscription No.83

(Plate XXVII)

Text

šlm mnšwr w

hšykw

Translation

peace, mnšwr

hšykw

Commentary

The letters of this inscription are satisfactorily written and some of them are joined. Apart from the second personal name (line 2), which has letters of unusual form, the reading proposed above is certain.

Line 1: The first word is certainly šlm, "peace". This shape of š emerges for the first time early in the beginning of the second century AD (see Healy, MME5, table I, column 3-4). The following word is to be read as mnšwrw, a personal name (although the final w could be the particle "and") which occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as mnsr (see Harding, Index, p.568). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name مَنْصُور which means "victor", "the one given aid/victory". This personal name is still in use nowadays among the Arabs.

Line 2: The first letter is h, then š, followed by y and k and finally the

w. This gives ḥṣykw, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CIS; 210:1; Euting, Nab, 13:1; Cook, Glossary, p.57; Cantineau II, p.100; Khraysheh, PNN, p.93). So the inscription could be translated either as "peace, mnṣwrw ḥṣykw" or Peace, mnṣwr and ḥṣykw".

Inscription No.84

(Plate XXVII)

Text

šlm mtnw br

ṣwhlw ḥxxbrx

Translation

peace, mtnw son of

ṣwhlw ḥxxbrx

Commentary

This is a full genealogy inscription carved to the left side of inscription No.83. It is carelessly and badly engraved. Both of the inscriptions may go back to the same period as is suggested by the letter forms. The proposed reading shown above is certain except for the last part of the inscription, since the letters are faded.

Line 1: The first word is, šlm, "peace". The first personal name can be read as follows: m, t, then n (see Healey, MME5 table I column 1, 2, 4 and 5) and finally an unusual form of w. This gives mtnw, a personal name is found elsewhere in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 239; Littmann, Nab 23:6; Cook, Glossary, p.79; Cantineau II, p.119, Khraysheh, PNN, pp.116-117). This is followed by the well known noun, br, "son of".

Line 2: The first letter can be read as ṣ (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222 column 1). Its vertical stroke curves to the left, yet it has been lengthened to join the third letter h. The letter between them is w, then after the h comes l and finally w. Therefore it must be read as ṣwhlw, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions as ṣhylt (see JS280; CantineauII, p.139) ṣhl as a personal name is attested in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.378). The name may be related to the Arabic verb مَهَّلَ "neigh", (see Lisān II,

p.387). Unfortunately, the rest of the inscription is very hard to read, but some of the letters can be distinguished. The first sign may be the *h*, followed by two signs difficult to make out, then *b* and *r* then a sign which it is impossible to make out.

Inscription No.85

(Plate XXVIII)

Photographs of these inscriptions, Nos 85, 86, 87, 88 and 89, were handed to me by my colleague Dr A. *Ḥāmd* (now of King Saud University, Department of Archaeology and Museum). Dr *Ḥāmd* gathered them during his survey in the south of the Hijāz.

Text

šlm zydw br ḥnmw

Translation

Peace, zydw son of ḥnmw

Commentary

This inscription is engraved on a rock face, on the same rock, there is an old Arabic inscription. Some of the letters of this item have an unusual form, which is a full genealogy.

The first personal name is most likely to be read *zydw*, a name is found elsewhere in this collection (see inscription No.53), followed by the noun *br*, "son of". The last personal name is clearly *ḥnmw*, a name is frequently attested in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 213:1, 234:2, 434, 476:1, 826:1; JS130, JS261, JS312; Euting, Sin, 260, 313:1, 413:1, 424:1, 524:2, Euting, Nab, 55:2, 13:1; Littmann, Nab, 77:2; Winnett, Reed 1, 4, 10:1, 13, 14, 29, 57:2, 96; Cook, Glossary, p.94; Cantineau II, p.133; Khraysheh, PNN, p.146). The name may correspond to the Arabic personal name *غنام*, which is current among modern Arabs.

Inscription No.86

(Plate XXVII)

Text

'kys br ḥbd

Translation

'kys son of ḥbd

Commentary

The letters of this inscription are carefully and nicely carved. This full genealogy inscription is carved among several Nabataean inscriptions. The proposed reading shown above is certain.

The first word is to be read 'kys, a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS211, JS228:1; Winnett, Reed 41; Cantineau II, p.61). Followed by br, "son of", despite the unusual forms of r. Next comes the father's name which is easy to read as bd, (see inscription No.86).

Inscription No.87

(Plate XXVII)

Text

šlm 'šdw br šdlhy

Translation

Peace, 'šdw son of šdlhy

Commentary

This inscription is carved below item No.86. It is a full genealogy the letters are satisfactorily engraved, as are most of the inscriptions on this site. Some of the letters are joined. The proposed reading shown above is certain.

The first word is certainly šlm, "peace", followed by the first personal name which could be read as 'šdw, a name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi267, 300:1, 315, 861:1; JS238, JS240; JS246; Littmann, Nab, 27:2; Winnett, Reed 118:2; Cook, Glossary, p.26; Cantineau II, p.68; Khraysheh, PNN, p.44). 'šdw is found in other Nabataean inscriptions as a god name, which could be the lion-god was worshipped at Der. il-Meshku (see Cantineau II, p.68; Littmann, Nab, p.26). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name أَسَدُ، أَسَد which is current among modern Arabs. The following word is br, son of". Followed by the personal name which could be read as šdlhy, which is compound of šd, "good luck", (see Cantineau II, p.152) and 'lh the divine name (see Cantineau II, p.62). The name šdlhy is found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS347; Cantineau II, p.153). The name appears also as šd'lhy (see E. Littmann, BSOAS15 (1953), p.5).

Inscription No.88

(Plate XXVII)

Text

šlm ḥyn'lhy br zbdw

Translation

Peace, ḥyn'lhy son of zbdw

Commentary

Like the previous inscription, this is satisfactorily carved and is a full genealogy. Some of its letters are joined. The proposed reading shown above is clear.

The first word is clearly šlm, "peace", followed by the first personal name, which can be made out as ḥ, then y, followed by n and ' , l, h and finally y. This gives ḥyn'lhy, a personal name compounded of ḥyn (which appears as a personal name in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS 122, JS199, JS372; CISi 227:1; Winnett, Reed 58, 100; Cantineau II, pp.95-96) the name corresponds to the Arabic personal name حيان and 'lhy/'lh', the divine name. The second personal name, which is the father's name, can be made out as zbdw, a name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 300:1, JS101, JS235, JS346; Winnett, Reed 118:1; Cook, Glossary, p.47; Cantineau II, p.91; Khraysheh, PNN, p.72).

Inscription No.89

(Plate XXVIII)

Text

šlm

šlmy šy^c

bḥb

Translation

peace,

šlmy the jeweller

for good

Commentary

This inscription is carved immediately below inscription No.85. The item is carelessly carved and as in the previous inscription, some of the letters are joined. The reading proposed above is more or less

certain.

Line 1: This line consists of just one word, which is to be read as šlm, "peace". The shape of the final m is large, yet the ends of both its legs are joined, merely by accident, to the last two letters of the word written immediately below it in line 2, as was found in inscription No.56.

Line 2: The first word can be read as follows: š, then l, m and finally the shape of either y or w. Thus gives šlmy or šlmw. šlmw as a personal name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi210:2; JS101, JS134, JS174; R.Savignac, RB42 (1933), p.421; Cantineau II, p.151; Khraysheh, PNN, pp.175-176), but it seems that the better reading is šlmy which is a personal name which occurs elsewhere in this collection (see inscription No.36). As for the following word, the shape of its letters suggests that it may have been carved by another inscriber. However, it could be part of this inscription. The word is to be read as: š, followed by y, then the inscriber have realised that the left edge of the rock face, left him no room to finish the word with ^c and '. Thus he had to carve them below. It could be argued that the engraver added this word šy^c ' after finishing the whole inscription. Perhaps he became aware that he had overlooked the occupation. šy^c is a noun in the masculine singular emphatic state which means "the jeweller". The noun occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CIS 372:1, JS58, JS119; Cantineau II, p.140; DISO p.244).

Line 3: This line consists just one word, which is the phrase bṯb, "for good". For the first time (at least in this corps) that the combination of šlm and bṯb are found in the same inscription, the usual combination is dkyr and bṯb.

al-Ḥarra

Inscription No.90

(Plate XXIX)

This inscription was shown to me in the local museum of Tabūk.

Text

cbdm^hmlkw

br 'wplywn

šlm

Translation

Ḳbdm^hmlkw

son of 'wplywn

Peace

Commentary

The block of stone accommodating this inscription is quite small and shows signs of having been cut on each side. It measures 21cm, 23cm by 17cm, 15cm. The stone was found somewhat damaged on the left side, which affects slightly the reading of the second line. The letters are elegantly carved and easy to read. The reading proposed above is clear.

Line 1: The first word is to be read Ḳbdm^hmlkw, a personal name which occurs in elsewhere in this collection (see inscription No.22). The name is compound of Ḳbd, "servant", (see Cantineau II, p.125) and m^hlk, which is either the noun m^hlk, "king" (see Cantineau II, p.114) or m^hlk the divine name which occurs in Biblical Hebrew as מֶלֶךְ (see BDB p.574).

Line 2: Unfortunately, the sign written before the noun br, "son of", is impossible to make out. However, the word following br is to be read either 'wplywn or 'wplywk. The better reading may be 'wplywn the Greek personal name which occurs in Palmyrene inscriptions as plwyn' (see Stark, PNP, p.108).

Taymā'

Inscription No.91

Atal, 7 (1983), p.110 ZDME, 137 (1987), p.292

Text

(Plate XXX)

mgmr ʿbd'lkth

br bwlñ

Translation

Total achievement of ʿbd'lkth

son of bwlñ

Commentary

This Nabataean inscription is carved on the side of an incense altar. Fashioned from ash-grey sandstone, it measures 42cm by 21cm by 23cm, and the mouth of the incense altar is 10cm x 6cm. The engraver has carved two lines of Nabataean writing.

Line 1: The first word is to be read as follows: m, followed by g (Klugkist, MAS, p.222; Healey, MME5, table I, II, Euting, Nab, p.23), then again m and finally r. This gives mgmr, although it has been read mistakenly by Beyer, Livingstone as m̄mr (see ZDMG 137 (1987), p.292). However, mgmr, "totality", "achievement", occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see CISi 199:8). It is derived from the Nabataean verb gmr, "to complete", "achieve", (see Cook, Glossary, p.37; Cantineau II, p.78; Levinson, NAI, p.144). It is followed by a personal name which can be read as ʿbd'lkth, a name compound of the noun ʿbd, "servant", and the divine name 'lkth, which corresponds to the Lihyanite goddess hn'kth "the great scribe" (god or goddess) (see J. Strugnell, BASOR 156 (1959), pp.30, 37; J. Milik and J. Teixidor, BASOR 163 (1961), p.22). The whole name may mean "the servant of 'l-ktha".

Line 2: The first word is to be read clearly as br, "son of". The importance of this word lies in the particular style of letter formation. The form of b is similar to the form of b used in earlier Aramaic script (see Cooke, NSI, pl.13). This may mean that this inscription dates back at least to the early Nabataean period. The last word is a personal name which may read as: b, then w, it has the earlier Aramaic form, followed by l and n. This gives bwlñ as interpreted by Beyer and Livingstone (see ZDMG 137(1987), p.292; livingstone, Atlat 7 (1983), p.110) bwly as a personal name is found in Palmyrene

inscriptions (see Stark, PNP, p.75).

Jawf area

The photographs of the following inscriptions 92, 93, 94; and 95 given to me by the Department of Antiquities and Museums in Riyadh.

Text

(Plate XXIX)

'ddpwn br ^cnmw šlm

Translation

'ddpwn son of ^cnmw, peace

Commentary

Appearing in the top part of the rock, this inscription is carefully worked. Some of its letters are joined. The proposed reading shown above is most likely the best.

The first word can be read as follows: ' then either d or r, next also either d or r. The two letters r and d are very difficult to distinguish except in context. Next, the shape of p then wand finally either K or n. This result, 'ddpwn', 'ddpww', 'drpwn', 'drpww', 'rrpwn', 'rrpww', 'rdpwn' or 'rdpww'. The name 'rrpwn' is to be compared to a personal name which appears in pre-Islamic Arabian inscription as 'rpn', (see Harding, Index, p.38). The best reading is 'ddpwn', a compound of 'dd, which may be related to the Semitic deity hdd, the chief deity of the Aramaeans. He was probably regarded as a god of storm and thunder (see Cooke, NSI, p.164). The other part of the name pwn, may be associated with the place name mentioned in Biblical Hebrew as פנין, a station between Petra and Zoar, famous for mines (see BDB, p.806). This is followed by the noun br, "son of". Then follows the father's name ^cnmw, which occurs frequently in this area (see inscription No.85). Finally comes the noun, šlm, "peace".

Inscription No.93

(Plate XXVIII)

Text

šlm 'ddy br pybyrw wrxx

Translation

Peace, 'ddy son of pybyrw wrxx

Commentary

The inscription carved alongside other Nabataean graffiti and is carelessly and badly written. The proposed reading above is certain save for the last part whose reading is open to question.

The first word is clearly the noun šlm, "peace". The horizontal stroke of the letters š is joined to the edge of the l but this may be by accident. The following word is to be read easily as 'ddy', a personal name which occurs in inscription No.9. The following name is to be made out as pybyrw, a personal name which is very hard to explain. The word of the inscription is so hard to make out save the first two letters which could be w and r.

Inscription No.94

(Figure 94)

Text

Bly w 'y šlm 'šdw br mntnw xxx
w 'ps'lhy bny prsy'

Translation


Indeed and have courage. Peace, 'šdw son of mntnw xxx
and 'ps'lhy sons of the horsemen

Commentary

The first part of this inscription has letters smaller than the second part. The reading is certain, save the signs following the name mntnw in the first line. They are very hard to make out.

Line 1: The first word is to be read as bly, "truly, indeed", an interjection which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Cook, Glossary, p.30; Cantineau II, p.71; Levinson, NAI, p.137). Then follows w, "and". The next word is to be read as 'y', which is an interjection occurs in Syriac as أب, (translated by Contaz, Dic.Syr, p.7 as Courage, cheer up, woe, malheur) and also be compared to the interjection found in Targumaic Aramaic as 'X', 'oh, woe, eh', (see Jastrow, p.43). Then comes clearly the noun šlm, "peace" followed by the personal name 'šdw', a name which occurs frequently in

Nabataean inscriptions (see inscription No.87). Next comes the noun br, "son of". The r is lengthened and joined merely by accident with the first letter of the following word m. This letter is followed by n, t, n again and finally w. Thus gives mntnw, a personal name to be compared to mnwtw a name which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Winnett, Reed 79:8; Cantineau II, p.116). The name may be related to the pre-Islamic Arabian deity mnwt (see Ryckmansi, pp.118-119).

Line 2: The first word is the conjunction w, "and", followed by a word which may be read as follows: ' p, s, ' then l, followed by the shape of h which joined to the final letter y. It may read as 'ps'lhy, a personal name compounded of 'ps (which occurs as a personal name in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.58) and which may be derived from the verb ps, "to tear", "to deter", (see Harding, Index, p.467).  "fate", occurs in Syriac (see Dic-Syr p.280) and the word 'lh'/'lhy. Then comes the construt plural noun bny, "sons of", followed by the noun prsy', masculine plural emphatic state), "knights, horsemen", which occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS246; Cantineau II, p.138). prsy' may correspond to the Latin Equites, a class of Roman citizen which had its origin in the primitive military organization of the Roman state. In the regal period and earlier republican times the wealthiest members of the state served in the cavalry (see Harvey, CCL, p.168).

Inscription No.95

(Figure 95)

Text

ʕbdw br ʕbd'lh'

Translation

ʕbdw son of ʕbd'lh'

Commentary

This inscription is carved alongside other Nabataean inscriptions, but they are very hard to make out. This is the only graffiti easy to make out. It has been engraved between two drawings of stars.

This first name is to be read as ʕbdw, a personal name which appears in other Nabataean inscriptions (see inscription No.8). This is followed

by the noun br, "son of". Finally comes a personal name compounded of ʕbd, "servant", and 'lh'. ʕbd'lh', "the servant of god" (see inscription No.23).

Taymā'

Inscription No.96

(Figure 96)

The photograph of this inscription was given to me by the Department of Antiquities and Museums in Riyadh.

Text

ʕydw br tymw ktb

Translation

ʕydw son of tymw wrote (it)

Commentary



This inscription is carefully carved. Some of its letters are joined. The proposed reading shown above is certain.

The first word could be read either ʕydw or ʕyrw, because d and r are generally indistinguishable and the reading must be inferred from the context. The best reading is ʕydw since it has been found in other Nabataean inscriptions (see inscription No.58). Also the father's name tymw, occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions (see inscription No.59). Next, comes the last word which could be read as ktb, a 3rd person masculine singular perfect verb which occurs in other Nabataean texts (see JS188, JS190, JS334:2; RES528; E. Littmann, BSOAS16 (1954), p.227; Cook, Glossary, p.66; Cantineau II, p.108).


IV. The Nabataean Script of the Text Studied in this Corpus

standard 1st century ad monumental form


ʾ: 

This shape appears most frequently in Nabataean inscriptions. It is an ellipse with a projection towards the right as . It can be small (see table I, inscription 6) or large (see table I, inscriptions 9 and 10). There is often no major difference between the initial and medial 'ʾ'. In the later Nabataean inscriptions, 'ʾ' appears as a vertical stroke as shown in table I inscription No.26, is a form more akin to Arabic form (a form which started to appear in Nabataean inscriptions around the end of the first century (see Healey, MME 5, table II, column C)). There are two types of 'ʾ', in this collection, the usual shape  for example (see table I, inscriptions 5, 20, 38 and 59) and unusual shape (see table I, inscriptions 15 and 56). This letter is also found (in this collection) connected to the preceding letter (see table II).

b: 

The normal shape of b in Nabataean inscriptions is a vertical stroke with an "open cup" head and a base that goes to the left, forming a horizontal (see Klugkist, MAS, p.222). This shape of b is occasionally attested in late Aramaic (see Aramaic section, table I), but generally the shape of b is either that of a vertical stroke turned to the left to form a horizontal stroke , a form found frequently in Nabataean graffiti, or a vertical stroke carved from its top edge to the left to form a small horizontal (see table I, inscriptions 36 and 43). Often there is no significant difference between the initial and the medial. The b is found connected to both the following and preceding letters (see table II). The form of the final b is similar to the normal shape that the horizontal stroke is longer and tends downwards (see table I, inscriptions 46, 68 and 69).

g: 




This letter is written with an oblique stroke with projecting from the top part of the oblique stroke (see table I, inscriptions 3 and 38). It was written with two oblique strokes, drawn from the top as  (see table I,

inscriptions 3 and 15). It can be seen joined to a following letter (see table II).

d: 4

This is an upright vertical stroke found sometimes with a concave head similar to that of b and r (see table I, inscriptions 25, 26 and 48), although at times it merely has a small horizontal hook (see table I, inscriptions 4, 8 and 46). There is no clear difference between the shape of d in its initial, medial or final positions. It is occasionally found with a dot on top of the horizontal stroke (see table I, inscription 52). This letter can be frequently seen joined to the preceding letter (see table II).


h: 11

This letter could be seen as two upright vertical strokes with a projecting bar, generally slightly oblique (see table I, inscriptions 46, and 64). At some stages the shape of h is as  and . It is also found as  (see table I, inscription 23). h is attested joined to both the following and preceding letters (see table II).




w: 1

The normal shape of this letter is an upright vertical stroke curving on the top to the left to form a semi-circle. This shape appears frequently in Nabataean inscriptions (see Euling, Nab, p 23). The semi-circle is sometimes replaced simply by a small horizontal stroke (see table I, inscriptions 46, 52 and 53) and the shoulder becomes rounded (see table I, inscriptions 51, 61 and 83). The w is discovered connected to the preceding letter (see table II).

z: 1

This letter is simply an upright vertical, although in one inscription it appears as  (see table I, inscription 49). There is no difference in shape between the medial and the final z (see table I, inscriptions 36 and 52). It is not found connected to other letters.








h: 

The standard form of *h* is two parallel vertical lines joined by a wavy bar, (see table I, inscriptions 30 and 37), the bar often projects from the top edge of either the right or left leg and descends to join the other leg as . The *h* is also found as  and  (see table I, inscriptions 1 and 26). It is attested joined to the following letter (see table II).




f: 


Normally this letter begins above the upper line, descends and then curves to the right, ascends to the ceiling line and finishes with an oblique stroke to the left, (see table I, inscriptions 3, 27 and 33). Some of unusual forms occurs in this collections (see table I, inscription 20 and 74).

y: 



It is sometimes found rounded to the right (see table I, inscription 4). It can also be seen as a long vertical stroke with a very small horizontal stroke joined to top right as  (see table I, inscription 25). It is also attested as a vertical stroke with a small hook at the bottom (see table I, inscription 48). There is no great difference in shape between the initial and the medial forms, but the final *y* has these shapes , , , , , and . It can be found connected to both following and preceding letters (see table II).

k: 






The usual form of this letter is a vertical stroke with a narrow head on the top left hand side. The vertical stroke turns to form a horizontal stroke (see table I, inscriptions 24 and 74). It is often written as a vertical stroke that turns to the left to form a horizontal line. The vertical stroke has a small horizontal on its left side as  (see table I, inscriptions 30, 37, 43 and 73), this shape started to occur in Nabataean inscriptions (from 166/9, 211/2 see Healey, MME 5, table I columns 8, 11). It is also found as both  (see table I, inscription 26) and  (see table I, inscriptions 91 and 96)

and this form known from the beginning of the third century AD (see Healey, MME 5, table I column 23). The difference between the medial and the final shapes is pronounced, the final shape being . This letter can be seen connected to the following and the preceding letter (see table II).

l: 

This is probably the tallest letter, an upright vertical stroke with a hook on the right side curving to the left as  (see table I, inscriptions 69, 71 and 84). It is sometimes found with a horizontal base  (see table I, inscriptions 38, 67 and 85) or simply as a long upright vertical stroke (see table I, inscriptions 5 and 88). It is also found joined to following and preceding letters (see table II).

m: 


This letter consists of a vertical stroke turned to the left to form a horizontal. The head is rounded, while at the top there is also a horizontal stroke with a downstroke which tends to the left (see table I, inscriptions 2 and 10). The final form of m occurs as  (see table I, inscriptions 1 and 5),  (see table I, inscription 12) and as  (see table I, inscription 11). The shape  (which is known in Nabataean inscriptions from 225/6, 265/6 and 305 6 AD) occurs in this collection (see table I, inscription 21). The shape  is normally the final form, but appears once as initial (see table I, inscription 12). The letter is found joined both to following and preceding letters (see table II).

N: 



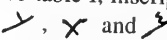
This is a vertical stroke, turned to the left to make a rounded stroke which then turns up (see table I, inscriptions 6 and 11). The top of the letter is sometimes wavy (see table I, inscriptions 67 and 84), sometimes missing altogether (see table I, inscriptions 6, 8 and 11) or sometimes simply an upright vertical stroke (see table I, inscriptions 66, 72 and 85). The final shape is a long vertical stroke, wavy on top (see table I, inscriptions 72 and 81). The letter is also found joined in both

following and preceding letters (see table II).

s: 

This resembles the concave head of the late Aramaic ^c , but is bigger and more rounded. The two right and left legs are joined at the top by a horizontal stroke (see table I, inscriptions 13, 16, 56 and 86). The letter has not been found joined to either following or preceding letters.

c: 


It was given a cursive form at an early date and is already hooked as  by the later first century AD (see Healey, MME 5, table I, column 8). The head of  in some way resembles to the concave head of the b or r but is more rounded (see table I, inscriptions 4, 8 and 16). In some inscriptions the form  are also found. This letter in some inscriptions is carved more like the Arabic shape of ^c (see table I, inscription 52). There is no difference between the shape of c in its initial, medial or final positions. It also occurs in some inscriptions connected to the following letter (see table II).

p: 

This letter is a vertical stroke curving on the top to the left to form a semi-circle and with a base that tends towards the left (see table I, inscriptions 32 and 54). The closure of the top loop of p seems relatively late, though the closed loop is found in earlier texts (see Healey, MME5, forthcoming). The semi-circle is sometimes replaced simply by a small hook (see table I, inscription 11). The shoulder often becomes rounded (see table I, inscriptions 69, 82, 90 and 93). This letter is also found connected to both following and preceding letter (see table II).

£: 





The downstroke is a vertical with a projecting wavy line at the top. The lower end of the wavy line tends to drop (see table I, inscriptions 10, 83 and 89). Sometimes, the line projecting at the top of

the vertical stroke curves towards the vertical stroke to form a semi-circle (see table I, inscription 39). It is found in some inscriptions as . It is also found joined to the following letter.





q: 

This is an upright vertical stroke curved to the left at the bottom to form a hook, while curving at the top to the right to form a semi-circle (see table I, inscriptions 2, 14, 31 and 41). Often the letter is found as a vertical stroke curved at the top to the right to form a semi-circle (see table I, inscription 62). Sometimes, the letter is found (akin to the shape of the Nabataean 𐤍) with a flat head (see table I, inscription 68). Finally, it is also found joined to the following letter (see table II).

r: 

This is an upright vertical stroke found sometimes with a concave head similar to that of d (see table I, inscriptions 21 and 39) although at times it merely has a small horizontal stroke (see table I, inscriptions 73 and 83). The form  (which occurs in this collection see table I, inscriptions 81 and 94) seems relatively late in graffiti from 222/3, 265/6, 355/6 (though it is found in early cursive (see Healey, MME 5, table II, column D). In some of the inscriptions the shape of r appears as ,  and . There is no clear difference between the shape of r in its initial, medial and final positions. Generally r and d are indistinguishable and must be distinguished from the context. It is also frequently seen joined to the preceding letter (see table II). It is attested (rarely) with a dot on top of the horizontal stroke (see table I, inscription 77).

š: 

This is an upright vertical stroke with two horizontal parallels projecting and a base that curves towards the left forming a horizontal stroke (see table I, inscriptions 12, 28 and 29). In some of this corpus, it is also found as , ,  and . There is no difference between the shape of š in its initial, medial and final positions. This

letter has been found connected to both following and preceding letters (see table II).

t: ת

This letter is two parallel vertical strokes joined at the top by a bar projecting from below the top of the leg to join the right leg (see table I, inscriptions 7, 8 and 9). Sometimes both legs are curved to the left (see table I, inscriptions 61, 70 and 84), but it is also found with just the left leg curving to the left to form a small hook or tail (see table I, inscriptions 75 and 80). The shapes ת, ת, ת, ת and ת are attested in this corpus. It has also appeared joined to both right and left letters (see table II).

Key to the Nabataean Script Tables I, II

- (1) 267/8; Madā'in Ṣālīḥ, JS No 17; Healey, Nabataean to Arabic forthcoming.
- (2) 328/9; an-Namāra; R. Dussaud, F. Macler, Repport Sur Mission Scientifique dans les regions dēsertiques de la Syrie Moyenne, 1902, pp.716-724; Healey, Nabataean to Arabic forthcoming.
- (3) 222/3; Sinai; A. Negev, IEJ 31 (1981), p.69, No. 9, pl. 10A.
- (4) 267/8; Sinai; A. Negev, IEJ 17 (1967), pp.251-252, fig.3, pl.48B.
- (5) 211/2; Sinai, CIS I No. 963, pl IXXV; cf. A. Negev IEJ 17 (1967) pp.252-253.
- (6) 306/7; al-ʿulā'; JS II No 386, pls. IXXi, CXXi.
- (7) 305; al-ʿulā'; CISI No 333, pls. xlv,xxxix; cf. J Euting, Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien, 1885, pp. 71-72, No. 30.
- (8) Ī; Initial
- (9) M; Medial
- (10) F; Final
- (11) Unconnected; J Euting, Nabatäische Ischriften aus Arabien, 1885, p.23.

Table I

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription ¹			Inscription ²			Inscription ³			Inscription ⁴		
			I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
'	6	6											66	
b	1	1	1						11		1	1		
g	2	2							2	2				
d	3	3							3	3			3	
h	300	300											3	
w	1	1			11			1			111	1		
z	1	1							1					
h	22	22	22											
t	222/3	222/3												
y	222	222	2	2		2			22					2
k	2	2							2			2		
l	2	2	2			2			2					
m	2	2			2	2	2					2		
n	2	2	2									2	2	
s	222	222												
c	22	22												
f	22	22												
a	2	2												
q	22	22			2									
r	2	2	2	2							22		2	
s/s	22	22	2			2								
t	22	22												

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription ⁵			Inscription ⁶			Inscription ⁷			Inscription ⁸		
			I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
'	6	6		6		6		6						
b	∩	∩	∩				∩		∩	∩		∩	∩	
g	↗	λ	⊥											
d	9	9				77				77			7	
h	303	303						77						
w	1	4	9		9	9			7		9			9
z	1	1												
h	λ	λ	π				π							
f	6	6												
y	55	55	55				✓	9		5	4		9	4
k	7	55									7			
l	1	1	1		1					1				
m	5	5	5		5					5	5		5	
n	1	1	1					1	1				1	
s	5	5												
c	1	1	1						1			1		
f	33	33												
s	3	3						3						
q	33	3												
r	1	1			1						77			7
s/s	55	55	5	5					55					
t	77	77									77	77		

Transliteration	267/8		328/9		Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
					i	M	F	i	M	F	i	M	F	i	M	F
'	6	6	6					6								
b	7	7	7					7						7		
g	8	8														
d	9	9			9								9	9	9	
h	10	10														
w	1	1											1	1	1	
z	1	1														
h	11	11												11		
t	12	12														
y	13	13			13			13								
k	14	14														
l	15	15											15			
m	16	16						16					16	16	16	
n	17	17											17			
s	18	18														
c	19	19											19			
f	20	20											20			
s	21	21														
q	22	22														
r	23	23												23	23	
s/s	24	24											24			
t	25	25														

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
			I	¹³ M	F	I	¹⁴ M	F	I	¹⁵ M	F	I	¹⁶ M	F
a	6	6		66	5				5	58	75	5		
b	1	1	1				1		1	1		1	1	
g	7	7								71				
d	9	9				7				7			7	
h	300	300												
w	1	1					9			9				9
z	1	1												
h	77	77	77							77				
t	6	6												
y	55	55		5	5					55				
k	1	1					1							
l	1	1		1		1				11				
m	5	5	5	5	5						5			
n	11	11	11	11			1	1						
s	5	5			5								55	
c	11	11								1		1		
f	33	33											3	
s	5	5												
q	11	11					1							
r	1	1			1		1				1		1	1
s/s	11	11	11	11					1					
t	11	11		11				1						

Transliteration	267/8		328/9		Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
	I	17 _M	F	I	18 _M	F	I	19 _M	F	I	20 _M	F				
a	ⲁ	ⲁ									ⲁ					
b	ⲃ	ⲃ		ⲃ	ⲃ			ⲃ		ⲃ						
g	Ⲅ	Ⲅ														
d	ⲅ	ⲅ						ⲅ								
h	Ⲇ	Ⲇ														
w	ⲇ	ⲇ		ⲇ		ⲇ		ⲇ		ⲇ		ⲇ				
z	Ⲉ	Ⲉ														
h	ⲉ	ⲉ														
t	Ⲋ	Ⲋ									Ⲋ					
y	ⲋ	ⲋ		ⲋ	ⲋ		ⲋ	ⲋ		ⲋ						
k	Ⲍ	Ⲍ														
l	ⲍ	ⲍ		ⲍ				ⲍ		ⲍ						
m	Ⲏ	Ⲏ	Ⲏ	Ⲏ	Ⲏ					Ⲏ	Ⲏ	Ⲏ				
n	ⲏ	ⲏ														
s	Ⲑ	Ⲑ														
c	ⲑ	ⲑ						ⲑ		ⲑ						
f	Ⲓ	Ⲓ														
s	ⲓ	ⲓ														
q	Ⲕ	Ⲕ														
r	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ		ⲕ		ⲕ		ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ				
s/s	Ⲗ	Ⲗ	Ⲗ		Ⲗ		Ⲗ		Ⲗ		Ⲗ					
t	ⲗ	ⲗ					ⲗ	ⲗ		ⲗ						

Transliteration	267/8		328/9		Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
					I	²¹ M	F	I	²² M	F	I	²³ M	F	I	²⁴ M	F
'	6	6					6					6		6	6	
b	1	1	1	1				1			1			1	1	1
g	7	7														
d	9	9						9			9			9	9	
h	307	307											h			
w	1	1	1				1			1						1
z	1	1														
h	11	11														
f	10	10													10	
y	55	55	55				55								55	
k	1	1	1				1			1					1	
l	1	1	1				1			1				1	1	
m	1	1	1				1			1					1	1
n	1	1	1													1
s	5	5														
c	1	1	1				1			1				1		
f	33	33	33											33		
s	5	5														
q	33	33														
r	1	1	1				1			1					1	1
s/s	5	5	5	5										5		
t	1	1	1													1

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
			I	25 M	F	I	26 M	F	I	27 M	F	I	28 M	F
a	6	6					1							
b	1	1 1	1			1					1	1		
g	2	2												
d	4	4	4			4								
h	303	302					3						2	
w	1	4 4	4		4	4		4					4 4	
z	1	1												
h	22	21				2				2				
t	6	7								6				
y	55	52		5	5	55	5						5	
k	1	2 2	2 2			2						2		
l	1	1 1	1			1 1			1			1 1		
m	5	5 5				5				5	5	5	5	
n	1	1 1	1			1	1	1						
s	5	5												
c	2	2				2								
f	3 3	3 3												
g	5	5												
q	3 3	3												
r	4	4 4		4 4		4							4	
s/s	5 5	5 5	5			5 5			5	5		5		
t	1 1	1 1												

Transliteration			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
	267/8	328/9	I ²⁹	M	F	I ³⁰	M	F	I ³¹	M	F	I ³²	M	F
a	6	6	σ											
b	ı	ıı				ı	ıı							
g	ˆ	ˆ												
d	ı	ı												
h	ııı	ıı												
w	ı	ıı			ı	ı	ıı			ı			ı	
z	ı	ı												
h	ıı	ıı				ıı								
t	ıı	ıı												
y	ıı	ıı	ı						ı			ı		
k	ı	ıı						ı						
l	ı	ıı	ı											
m	ı	ıı				ı								
n	ı	ıı					ıı					ı		
s	ı	ıı												
c	ıı	ıı				ı								
f	ıı	ıı										ı		
s	ı	ıı												
q	ıı	ıı							ı					
r	ı	ıı						ı						
s/o	ıı	ıı		ı						ı		ı		
t	ıı	ıı												

Transliteration			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
	267/8	328/9	I	33 M	F	I	34 M	F	I	35 M	F	I	36 M	F
'	6	6												
b	3	33		3								7	3	
g	7	7												
d	9	9					7							
h	303	32												
w	9	99			7									
z	1	1										1		
h	22	2												
t	6	6		6										
y	33	32				5								37
k	3	333												
l	3	33					3		3			33		
m	3	33							3			3	3	
n	33	333	3											
s	3	3												
c	33	3					3							
f	33	33												
s	3	3												
q	33	3												
r	3	33												7
n/s	33	33							3			33		
t	33	333								3				

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
			I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
i	6	6				6								
b	ج	ج ج	ج ج	ج	ج	ج	ج		ج					
g	ز	ز				ز								
d	د	د	د			د				د			د	
h	ه	ه												
w	و	و			و و	و و و	و و و		و				و	
z	ز	ز												
h	ح	ح	ح									ح		
t	ط	ط		ط										
y	ي	ي	ي		ي			ي	ي				ي	
k	ك	ك	ك	ك	ك									
l	ل	ل		ل		ل	ل		ل				ل	
m	م	م				م		م			م			م
n	ن	ن		ن				ن						
s	س	س												
c	ص	ص										ص		
f	ف	ف				ف								
p	پ	پ							پ					
q	ق	ق							ق					
r	ر	ر			ر			ر		ر	ر			
s/s	ش	ش				ش	ش		ش			ش		
t	ث	ث												

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription ⁴¹			Inscription ⁴²			Inscription ⁴³			Inscription ⁴⁴		
			I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
'	6	6												
b	ج	ج ج	ج ج				ج			7				
g	ز	ز												
d	د	د					د							
h	ه	ه												
w	و	و و						و			و			
z	ز	ز												
h	ح	ح												
t	ط	ط												
y	ي	ي			ي		ي		ي					
k	ك	ك ك						ك						
l	ل	ل ل	ل ل			ل ل		ل ل			ل			
m	م	م م		م			م			م			م	
n	ن	ن ن												
s	س	س												
c	ص	ص	ص		ص									
f	ف	ف ف												
q	ق	ق		ق										
r	ر	ر ر			ر									
s/s	ش	ش ش				ش		ش			ش			
t	ث	ث ث		ث										

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription ⁴⁵			Inscription ⁴⁶			Inscription ⁴⁷			Inscription ⁴⁸		
			I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
a	ⲁ	ⲁ					ⲁ							
b	ⲃ	ⲃ				ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ				ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ
g	ⲅ	ⲅ												
d	ⲇ	ⲇ				ⲇ			ⲇ			ⲇ		
h	ⲉ	ⲉ				ⲉ	ⲉ							
w	ⲏ	ⲏ				ⲏ								ⲏ
z	Ⲑ	Ⲑ												
h	ⲑ	ⲑ												
t	ⲓ	ⲓ				ⲓ						ⲓ		
y	ⲕ	ⲕ				ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ			ⲕ		
k	ⲍ	ⲍ				ⲍ			ⲍ			ⲍ		
l	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ			ⲏ	ⲏ							
m	Ⲑ	Ⲑ			Ⲑ			Ⲑ						
n	ⲑ	ⲑ						ⲑ						
s	ⲓ	ⲓ												
c	ⲕ	ⲕ				ⲕ								
f	ⲏ	ⲏ												
s	ⲑ	ⲑ												
q	ⲓ	ⲓ												
r	ⲕ	ⲕ						ⲕ		ⲕ				ⲕ
s/s	ⲓ	ⲓ	ⲓ			ⲓ						ⲓ		
t	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ									ⲕ		

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
			I	⁴⁹ M	F	I	⁵⁰ M	F	I	⁵¹ M	F	I	⁵² M	F
'	כ	כ						כ			כ	כ		כ
b	ב	ב	ב	ב		ב		ב				ב	ב	
g	ג	ג												
d	ד	ד			ד								ד	
h	ה	ה								ה				
w	ו	ו						ו		ו	ו	ו	ו	ו
z	ז	ז	ז										ז	
h	ח	ח				ח							ח	
t	ט	ט						ט						
y	י	י	י					י						י
k	כ	כ												
l	ל	ל		ל		ל	ל			ל		ל	ל	
m	מ	מ	מ	מ		מ	מ	מ		מ		מ	מ	
n	נ	נ					נ	נ		נ				
s	ס	ס												
c	צ	צ	צ		צ	צ	צ					צ	צ	
f	פ	פ							פ					
s	ש	ש										ש		
q	ק	ק				ק								
r	ר	ר			ר		ר	ר		ר				ר
a/s	א	א	א			א			א			א		
t	ת	ת												ת

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
			I ⁵³	M	F	I ⁵⁴	M	F	I ⁵⁵	M	F	I ⁵⁶	M	F
ʾ	ا	ا										ا		ا
b	ب	ب										ب		
g	ج	ج												
d	د	د		د										
h	ه	ه												
w	و	و			و		و	و				و	و	
z	ز	ز	ز											
h	ح	ح												
t	ط	ط										ط		
y	ي	ي		ي		ي						ي	ي	
k	ك	ك												
l	ل	ل							ل			ل	ل	
m	م	م												م
n	ن	ن				ن								
s	س	س												س
c	ص	ص										ص	ص	
f	ف	ف				ف								
s	ش	ش												
q	ق	ق										ق		
r	ر	ر							ر			ر	ر	
z/s	ز	ز				ز						ز		
t	ث	ث										ث	ث	ث

Transliteration			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
	267/8	328/9	I	⁵⁷ M	F	I	⁵⁸ M	F	I	⁵⁹ M	F	I	⁶⁰ M	F
'	6	6				6		6	6			6		
b	7	7							7			7		
g	7	7	7											
d	7	7	7			7	7		7					
h	7	7							7					
w	7	7	7					7		7		7	7	
z	7	7				7								
h	7	7	7									7		
t	7	7												
y	7	7	7			7			7			7		
k	7	7	7			7								
l	7	7							7			7		
m	7	7	7			7			7	7			7	
n	7	7				7	7							
s	7	7												
c	7	7				7			7					
f	7	7												
g	7	7												
q	7	7												
r	7	7	7					7		7	7		7	
s/s	7	7						7				7	7	
t	7	7						7						

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription 61			Inscription 62			Inscription 63			Inscription 64		
			I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
r	6	6												
b	ج	ج ج										ج	ج	
g	ز	ز												
d	د	د												
h	ه	ه ه								ه		ه		
w	و	و و			و					و و و			و و	
z	ز	ز												
h	ح	ح ح							ح					
t	ط	ط										ط		
y	ي	ي ي		ي								ي		
k	ك	ك ك												
l	ل	ل ل		ل		ل								
m	م	م م	م	م			م	م						
n	ن	ن ن						ن				ن	ن	
s	س	س												
c	ص	ص				ص			ص					
f	ف	ف ف												
s	ش	ش												
q	ق	ق					ق							
r	ر	ر ر					ر		ر				ر	
s/s	س	س س				س								
t	ط	ط ط										ط		

Transliteration	267/8		328/9		Inscription 65			Inscription 66			Inscription 67			Inscription 68		
					I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
r	𐤓	𐤓									𐤓					
b	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁					𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁			𐤁		𐤁
g	𐤂	𐤂													𐤂	
d	𐤃	𐤃			𐤃			𐤃						𐤃		
h	𐤄	𐤄	𐤄													
w	𐤅	𐤅	𐤅			𐤅		𐤅	𐤅	𐤅		𐤅		𐤅	𐤅	𐤅
z	𐤆	𐤆														
h	𐤇	𐤇	𐤇	𐤇				𐤇			𐤇				𐤇	
t	𐤈	𐤈												𐤈		
y	𐤉	𐤉	𐤉		𐤉											
k	𐤊	𐤊	𐤊												𐤊	
l	𐤋	𐤋	𐤋								𐤋			𐤋	𐤋	
m	𐤌	𐤌	𐤌		𐤌							𐤌			𐤌	
n	𐤍	𐤍	𐤍					𐤍				𐤍			𐤍	
s	𐤎	𐤎														
c	𐤏	𐤏	𐤏					𐤏								
f	𐤐	𐤐	𐤐													
s	𐤑	𐤑														
q	𐤒	𐤒	𐤒												𐤒	
r	𐤓	𐤓	𐤓		𐤓			𐤓			𐤓	𐤓		𐤓	𐤓	𐤓
s/s	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔							𐤔				𐤔		
t	𐤕	𐤕	𐤕													

Transliteration	267/8		328/9		Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	
r	𐤓	𐤓		𐤓					𐤓				𐤓			
b	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁					𐤁			
g	𐤂	𐤂														
d	𐤃	𐤃	𐤃				𐤃	𐤃		𐤃						
h	𐤄	𐤄	𐤄													
w	𐤅	𐤅	𐤅													
z	𐤆	𐤆	𐤆													
h	𐤇	𐤇	𐤇				𐤇						𐤇			
t	𐤈	𐤈		𐤈												
y	𐤉	𐤉	𐤉		𐤉		𐤉			𐤉						
k	𐤊	𐤊	𐤊		𐤊					𐤊						
l	𐤋	𐤋			𐤋		𐤋			𐤋			𐤋			
m	𐤌	𐤌	𐤌		𐤌				𐤌	𐤌			𐤌	𐤌		
n	𐤍	𐤍	𐤍						𐤍				𐤍		𐤍	
s	𐤎	𐤎		𐤎	𐤎											
c	𐤏	𐤏	𐤏				𐤏	𐤏		𐤏						
f	𐤐	𐤐	𐤐	𐤐	𐤐											
s	𐤑	𐤑														
q	𐤒	𐤒	𐤒													
r	𐤓	𐤓			𐤓		𐤓			𐤓					𐤓	
s/s	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔				𐤔			𐤔			𐤔	𐤔		
t	𐤕	𐤕	𐤕					𐤕			𐤕					

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription 73			Inscription 74			Inscription 75			Inscription 76		
			I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
v	6	6				6								
b	1	1 1	1		1	1	1	1				1		
g	2	2												
d	4	4	4			4								
h	303	303				303								
w	1	1 1								1			1 1	
z	1	1												
h	21	21												
t	10	10	10			10								
y	55	55	55			55	55	55						
k	1	1 1	1			1								
l	1	1 1				1						1		
m	1	1 1	1			1			1					
n	1	1 1												
s	5	5												
c	1	1												
f	13	13									13			
s	5	5												
q	13	13	13										13	
r	1	1 1		1		1		1	1	1	1		1	
s/s	1	1						1						
t	1	1		1	1			1						

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription 77			Inscription 78			Inscription 79			Inscription 80		
			I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
a	6	6												
b	⌋	⌋⌋	/	//		/		↗	↗	↗	↗	↗	↗	↗
g	↗	λ							↗					
d	γ	γ				γ								γ
h	⌋⌋⌋	⌋⌋												
w	γ	γγ			γγ	γ	γ			γγ				
z	l	l										l		
h	λλ	η				η								
t	6	γ				6			6					
y	ss	ss	ss			ss			ss					
k	⌋	⌋⌋				⌋						⌋		
l	⌋	⌋⌋	⌋						⌋	⌋				
m	γ	⌋⌋	⌋	⌋	⌋				⌋	⌋	⌋	⌋⌋		
n	⌋⌋	⌋⌋								⌋				
s	ss	ss												
c	ss	ss							ss	ss		ss		
f	ss	ss												
g	ss	ss												
q	ss	ss												
r	γ	γγ	γ		γ	γ	γ			γ				γ
s/s	ss	ss	ss	ss						ss				
t	⌋⌋	⌋⌋												η

Transliteration	267/8	328/9	Inscription 81			Inscription 82			Inscription 83			Inscription 84		
			I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
'	6	6												
b	ج	ج ج										ج	ج	
g	ز	ز												
d	د	د		د										
h	ه ه	ه ه	ه									ه		
w	و	و و	و	و					و	و و		و	و و	
z	ز	ز												
h	ح	ح				ح		ح				ح		
t	ط	ط												
y	ي	ي							ي					
k	ك	ك ك							ك					
l	ل	ل ل	ل						ل			ل		
m	م	م م		م				م		م	م	م		م
n	ن	ن ن		ن					ن			ن		
s	س	س												
c	ص	ص	ص											
f	ف	ف ف	ف			ف								
s	س	س							س		س			
q	ق	ق												
r	ر	ر ر	ر						ر			ر		
s/s	س	س س							س	س		س		
t	ط	ط ط				ط	ط					ط		

Transliteration			Inscription 85			Inscription 86			Inscription 87			Inscription 88		
	267/8	328/9	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
a	ⲁ	ⲁ				ⲁ			ⲁ			ⲁ		
b	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ			ⲃ	ⲃ		ⲃ			ⲃ	ⲃ	
g	Ⲅ	Ⲅ												
d	ⲅ	ⲅ		ⲅ				ⲅ	ⲅ			ⲅ		
h	Ⲇ	Ⲇ							Ⲇ			Ⲇ		
w	ⲇ	ⲇ			ⲇ						ⲇ			ⲇ
z	Ⲉ	Ⲉ	Ⲉ									Ⲉ		
h	ⲉ	ⲉ										ⲉ		
t	Ⲋ	Ⲋ												
y	ⲋ	ⲋ	ⲋ			ⲋ					ⲋ	ⲋ	ⲋ	
k	Ⲍ	Ⲍ				Ⲍ								
l	ⲍ	ⲍ		ⲍ					ⲍ			ⲍ		
m	Ⲏ	Ⲏ	Ⲏ	Ⲏ							Ⲏ		Ⲏ	
n	ⲏ	ⲏ		ⲏ								ⲏ		
s	Ⲑ	Ⲑ						Ⲑ						
c	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ			ⲑ			ⲑ					
f	Ⲓ	Ⲓ												
s	ⲓ	ⲓ												
q	Ⲕ	Ⲕ												
r	ⲕ	ⲕ			ⲕ			ⲕ			ⲕ			ⲕ
a/a	Ⲗ	Ⲗ	Ⲗ						Ⲗ	Ⲗ		Ⲗ		
i	ⲗ	ⲗ												

Transliteration	267/8		328/9		Inscription 89			Inscription 90			Inscription 91			Inscription 92		
					I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
'	כ	ס					ס	ס				כ		ס		
b	ב	ב	ב				ב	ב	ב		בב	ב	ב	ב		
g	ג	ג										ג				
d	ד	ד						ד				ד			דד	
h	ה	ה	ה													
w	ו	ו	ו					ו	ו			ו			ו	ו
z	ז	ז														
h	ח	ח	ח													
t	ט	ט				ט										
y	י	י	י			י		י								
k	כ	כ	כ					כ				כ				
l	ל	ל	ל			ל		ל				ל			ל	
m	מ	מ	מ			מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ			מ	מ
n	נ	נ	נ						נ				נ		נ	נ
s	ס	ס														
c	צ	צ	צ			צ		צ			צ			צ		
f	פ	פ	פ					פ							פ	
s	ש	ש	ש													
q	ק	ק	ק													
r	ר	ר	ר						ר			ר				ר
s/s	ס	ס	ס	ס				ס						ס		
t	ת	ת	ת									ת				

Transliteration			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription			Inscription		
	267/8	328/9	I ⁹³	M	F	I ⁹⁴	M	F	I ⁹⁵	M	F	I ⁹⁶	M	F
a	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ			ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ		ⲁ	ⲁ			
b	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ		ⲃ			ⲃ	ⲃ		ⲃ		ⲃ
g	ⲅ	ⲅ												
d	ⲇ	ⲇ		ⲇ			ⲇ			ⲇ			ⲇ	
h	ⲉ	ⲉ					ⲉ			ⲉ				
w	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ		ⲏ	ⲏ		ⲏ		ⲏ			ⲏ	
z	Ⲑ	Ⲑ												
h	ⲑ	ⲑ												
t	ⲓ	ⲓ												
y	ⲙ	ⲙ		ⲙ	ⲙ		ⲙ						ⲙ	
k	ⲛ	ⲛ										ⲛ		
l	ⲝ	ⲝ	ⲝ			ⲝ				ⲝ				
m	ⲟ	ⲟ			ⲟ	ⲟ		ⲟ					ⲟ	
n	ⲡ	ⲡ					ⲡ							
s	ⲣ	ⲣ												
c	Ⲗ	Ⲗ							Ⲗ			Ⲗ		
f	Ⲙ	Ⲙ	Ⲙ			Ⲙ	Ⲙ							
ⲥ	Ⲧ	Ⲧ												
q	Ⲩ	Ⲩ												
r	Ⲭ	Ⲭ		Ⲭ	Ⲭ		Ⲭ	Ⲭ			Ⲭ			Ⲭ
s/s	Ⲯ	Ⲯ	Ⲯ			Ⲯ	Ⲯ	Ⲯ						
t	Ⲱ	Ⲱ					Ⲱ					Ⲱ	Ⲱ	

Table II

Transliteration	Unconnected	Connected on right	Connected on left	Connected on right & left				
i	σ	σ						
b	β β	β	β	β				
g	γ γ		γ γ					
d	δ δ	δ	δ					
h	η η		η η	η				
w	ϖ ϖ	ϖ ϖ						
z								
h	η η		η η	η				
t								
y	ϣ ϣ	ϣ ϣ	ϣ ϣ	ϣ ϣ				
k	κ κ		κ κ	κ				
l	λ λ	λ	λ	λ				
m	μ μ	μ	μ μ	μ μ				
n	ν ν	ν	ν	ν ν				
s								
c	ξ ξ		ξ ξ					
f	φ φ		φ	φ				
g	ψ ψ		ψ					
q	ϗ ϗ		ϗ					
r	ρ ρ	ρ						
s/s	σ σ		σ	σ				
t	τ τ	τ	τ					

V. Conclusion

The importance of the NW Arabian trade route to the Nabataeans led to their eventual rule of the area probably as early as the 1st century BC. The amount of Nabataean archaeological material which has been discovered in addition to the epigraphic data indicates that the Nabataean domination of NW of Arabia was well established. It is believed that the "golden age" of NW Arabia (except Taymā') occurred under the Nabataeans who controlled the caravan routes and enjoyed considerable wealth.

With regard to the inscriptions, all of those covered in this study are graffiti with the exception of inscription No.91, which was carved on the side of an incense altar and inscription No.90, which was carved on a block of stone. Furthermore, the majority of these graffiti are commemorative inscriptions of travellers who used these trade routes.

Most of the rocks on which these inscriptions were carved are adorned with primitively carved animal images, drawings of humans and geometric shapes. The technique of inscribing these inscriptions was probably with sharp stones; most of them can be found on sandstone rocks, which renders writing easy. Some of the inscriptions are executed in a way which indicates that the engraver was not particularly skilful (such as inscription Nos 11, 13, 30 and 79) while others are beautifully engraved (such as inscription Nos 25, 26 and 73).

Apart from Nos 52 and 77, the inscriptions studied carry no diacritical points. The dot may have been used to distinguish r from d on occasions when both letters appeared together in the same inscription. Diacritics also appeared in the Palmyrene and Syriac-North Mesopotamian tradition at an early date.

Many of the personal names used in the inscriptions are of Arabic origin or are related to Arabic (such as 'wsw, inscription No.38; w'lw inscription No.5). Many also appear in other Semitic languages such as Old Aramaic, Palmyrene, Syriac, Biblical Hebrew

and pre-Islamic Arabian. The fact that the personal names in the inscriptions show close connections with Arab names lends support to the conclusion that the Nabataeans were Arabs by race and language.

In inscription No.56 the father's name, twts, is Greek, which points to contact having taken place between the Nabataeans and the Greeks. Historical sources suggest this took place as early as the second century BC. The Nabataeans might have adopted Greek names in certain instances, or it may be that some Greeks settled among the Nabataeans. In inscription No.69 the name pmsps occurs, which is probably of Greek or Egyptian origin, possibly pointing to the existence of commerce between the Egyptians and the Nabataeans. The appearance of the Egyptian personal name p/sry in the old Aramaic inscription (Taymā' 1879) is a reflection of a long relationship with the Egyptians.

The Nabataeans had several ways of joining letters (see table II). Some are connected to both the following and the preceding letters, while others only to the preceding ones. From a study of table II the following points emerge:

- (a) The letters z, ṭ and s are never found connected to either following or preceding letters.
- (b) ' , w and r are connected exclusively to the preceding letter. The same restriction applies to the environment of these letters in Syriac (see Healey, FSS, p.8).
- (c) The only letters found connected in both directions or to their following and preceding letters are b, y, m, n and š. The same restriction applies to the environment of these letters in Syriac (see Healey, FSS, p.8).
- (d) The letters g, ^c, š and q are joined only to the following letter.
- (e) d and t are joined to the following and preceding letters (but it is never found connected at the same time to the following and preceding letter).
- (f) ḥ, h, k and p are found joined letters to their following letters and in both directions (but never only to the preceding letter).

Putting dates to the inscriptions, none of which were dated, was the

most difficult task of all. In order to solve the problem we had to compare them with other dated material, relying mainly on the work of Dr J. Healey, Nabataean to Arabic: calligraphy and Script Development among the pre-Islamic Arabs, MME5 (forthcoming). With regard to dating, the inscriptions fall into three main categories:

- (a) Early inscriptions dating to the first century AD. This category is represented by inscription Nos 3, 5 and 9.
- (b) Inscriptions dating to the second century AD. This category is represented by inscription Nos 27, 29, 38, 66, 73 and 83.
- (c) Others dating to the third century AD onwards. This category is represented by inscription Nos 2, 25 and 26.
- (d) Palaeographically speaking, the shape of b and w in inscription No.91 (see table I) is similar to the shape of b and r in Aramaic inscriptions during the fifth and fourth century BC. Thus we may conclude that this inscription is earlier in date and was in fact carved during the transition period from Aramaic to Nabataean or else it was written by a person who normally carved in Aramaic.

SECTION FOUR

I. List of Personal Names (Aramaic and Nabataean Inscriptions)

The importance of Semitic proper names lies in their linguistic, historical and theological contents. In treating personal names in Aramaic and Nabataean inscriptions, the present chapter is chiefly concerned on the one hand with their analysis and linguistic character and on the other with comparison with parallel names from other languages or dialects, such as Phoenician, Ugaritic, Old Aramaic, Palmyrene, Syriac, Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, pre-Islamic Arabian and Arabic. Collections of names in classical Arabic have been consulted since it is clear that the majority of the names can be best explained through Arabic etymologies. The names found in this collection from the NW of Saudi Arabia are found among or are closely related to Arabic personal names. Foreign proper names are included, but they have not been discussed from the lexical viewpoint.

The following abbreviations are used:

Nab: Personal name found in Nabataean inscriptions.

Aram: Personal name found in Aramaic inscriptions.

'ddy: Nab

Inscription Nos 9, 93, Hypocoristicon, Masculine

A related name 'dy, with just one d, is found in Phoenician (see Phoen PN, p.55), in Hatra inscriptions (see A.Caquot, Syria 32(1955), pp.52, 57) and in old Aramaic (see Maraqtan, SPRIV, pp.66, 115). The name 'dd is also attested in Ugaritic (see Gröndahl, PNU, p.88), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.32), and Biblical Hebrew (דד) (see BDB p.9) and in Syriac we find ܕܕ (see Dic. Syr p.402).

The name 'dd may be associated with דדד , the chief deity of the Aramaeans. "He was probably regarded as a god of storms and thunder. He was identified by the Assyrians as a god from the Amorite country with Ramman", (see Cooke, NSI, p.164; for more reference see Huffman, APNMT, pp.156-158). The original significance of the

name may possibly be found in the Arabic هَدَّ "break" (see Lisān 3, pp.432-433). The personal name هَدَّاه is known in classical Arabic.

'ddpwn: Nab

Inscription No.92, Genitive compound, Masculine

This personal name is made up of the element 'dd, which may be related to the Semitic deity 𐤃𐤃𐤍 (see above), and the word pwn which is hard to explain. It may be associated (although this is unlikely) with a place situated between Petra and Zoar. The place-name occurs in Biblical Hebrew as 𐤏𐤓𐤍 (see BDB p.806). Alternatively, pwn may be related to the personal name which occurs in Ugaritic as pwn (see Gordon, UT, p.467). It is also possible that pwn is related to the Arabic ٱَنَّ "way, manner" (see Lisān 13, p.326).

'wplywn: Nab

Inscription No.90:2, Greek, Masculine

A Greek personal name, this may be compared to that which appears in Palmyrene inscriptions as plyn' (see Stark, PNP, p.108).

'wšw: Nab

Inscription Nos 38, 60, Hypocoristicon. "Gift of (Divine name)", Masculine

A similar name is found in other Nabataean inscriptions as 'wyšw (see Cooke, NSI, 103) and 'wšlhy (see Cantineau II, p.58). The name also appears in Palmyrene as 'wšy (see Stark, PNP, pp.3, 66) and 'wš in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.84; Branden, Tham, pp.557, 701; Ryckmansi, pp.41-42).

The name may be related to the classical Arabic أُوسُ, "gift", (see Lisān 6, p.16). الأوسُ is also a tribe name from the Hijāz (see Lisān 6, p.18). This name, 'wšw, may correspond to the Arabic personal names أُوسُ and إِيَّاسُ.

'ḏb: Aram

Inscription No. 1:1, One-word name. "Loved", Masculine.

A related personal name is found in Syriac as ܠܒܒܐ (see Dic. Syr p.408), in Nabataean as hbyb (see Cantineau II, p.93), in Biblical Hebrew as ܠܒܒ (see BDB p.285), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as 'hb' (see Harding, Index, p.24; for parallels see Ryckmansi, pp.86-87) and in Palmyrene as hbyb' (see Stark, PNP, p.87).

The name is derived from the Semitic root hbb, "love", which occurs in most of the Semitic languages, Biblical Hebrew ܠܒܒ (see BDB p.285; Jastrow p.415), Syriac ܠܒܒܐ (see Dic. Syr p.93), Nabataean (see Cantineau II, p.93), pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Biella, OSA, p.163), and old Aramaic (see DISO p.81). In classical Arabic the verb is found as ܠܒܐ (see Lisān I, p.289) and ܠܒܐ is known as a tribe name (see Lisān I, p.296). The name 'hb, which is in the af'al form, similar to the Arabic personal name ܠܒܐ .

'hywg'y':Nab

Inscription No.15, Nominal sentence. "Little brother from g'", Masculine

This personal name is a compound of the element 'hyw, diminutive of 'h', "brother", (see Cantineau II, p.59; Cooke, NSI, p.232) and g'y', which may be related to the city of g', situated near Petra (see Cantineau II, p.76; A. Negev, IEJ13 (1963), p.114).

'kys: Nab

Inscription No.86, Greek, Masculine.

This Greek personal name occurs twice in other Nabataean inscriptions (see JS211, JS228:2; Winnett, Reed 41). It is also attested in Phoenician (see Phoen PN, p.193).

'l'w: Nab

Inscription No.20, One-word name, Masculine

This personal name appears in Palmyrene inscriptions as 'l'w. It supposedly means "toothless" (see Stark, PNP, pp.4,68 and for

parallels).

'skrs: Nab

Inscription No.16, Greek, Masculine.

This is clearly a Greek personal name translated by JSI, p.242 as "foreigner".

'^cbdmny: Nab

Inscription No.4, Genitive compound with shortened ending. "servant of mny", Masculine.

The name is made up of '^cbd, an af^cal form, derived from the noun ^cbd, "servant" (though the spelling with ' within the word is strange) (see under ^cbd below) and mny, which is the shortened name of god of fate, the Nabataean deity mnwt (see BDB p.584).

'ps'lhy: Nab

Inscription No: 4:2, Genitive compound, Masculine.

This name is a compound of the element 'ps, an af^cal form of the classical Arabic root فُسَّ , "tear, rip", (see Lisan 1, p.121; Harding, Index, p.467) and the element 'lh'y / 'lh'. However, this explanation does not yield any satisfactory meaning.

'^{sb}^c: Nab

Inscription No.10, One-word name. "Direct", Masculine.

This personal name is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as '^{sb}^cn (see Harding, Index, p.50).

Note may be made of the noun '^{sb}^c, "finger", which occurs in most Semitic languages, for example in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Dic. Sab p.140; Biella, OSA, p.416), in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.364 and for parallels see Gordon, UT, p.472), in both Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic as שָׁבֶעַ (see BDB pp.840, 1109) and in classical Arabic as أَصْبَعَ. The personal name '^{sb}^c may be best interpreted as an imperative, formed from the classical Arabic صَبَّعَ , "to

guide, direct", (see Lisān 8, pp.192-193). إصْبَع is also known as the name of a mountain (see Yāqūt 1, p.206).

'rśn: Aram

Inscription No.9:3, One-word name, Masculine.

A similar name is found in Phoenician as 'rś (see Cooke, NSI, 21:1; Phoen PN, pp.64-65), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.37; Ryckmansi, p.47), in Ugaritic as 'rśw (see Gordon, UT, p.366) and in Nabataean as 'rśw (see Cantineau II, p.67).

The name is derived from the same root as the Phoenician verb 'rś, "desire, request", (see Tomback, Phoen, p.33) which is also found in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UH, p.215). In this case the name 'rśn may mean "desire". The name may also be related to Arabic أَرَش which supposedly means "man" (see Ryckmansi, p.47). In this case, the name may mean "man". It could also be related to the deity 'rś which mentioned in Phoenician (see Phoen PN, p.276; Cooke, NSI, p.129).

'ḡdw: Nab

Inscription Nos 87, 94:1, One-word name. "Lion", Masculine

This personal name is found in other Nabataean inscriptions as 'ḡwd (see Euting, Sin, 652) and as 'ḡwdw (see Euting, Sin, 106:1). 'ḡdw as a personal name occurs also in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.73), in Syriac (see al-Jadir, p.348) and frequently in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.43; Oxtoby, Şaf, p.409). 'ḡdw is a form which occurs also as a divine name (see Littmann, Nab, p.26). الأسد is a very popular Arab family name which is related to the Semitic noun 'ḡd, "lion, soldiers", (see Dic. Sab p.7; Stark, PNP, p.73). In classical Arabic it appears as أسد, "lion" (see Lisān 3, pp.72-73).

'ḡylw: Nab

Inscription No.29, One-word name, Masculine.

A similar personal name occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as 'šll (see Harding, Index, p.49; for more parallels see Ryckmansi, p.209) and in Hatra inscriptions as ʕšP (see A. Caquot, Syria 41 (1964), p.263).

The name could be related to the Arabic root سَلَّ, "to pull", (see Lisān 11, p.338) or to السَّيْلُ, "the emergence of the baby out of its mother's womb", (see Lisān 11, p.339). The name corresponds to the Arabic names سَلُول and سَلُول (see Lisān 11, 343). Alternatively the name may be related, as has been suggested by Harding, Index, p.355, to the Arabic شَلَّ, "to wither", (see also Lisān 11, p.360).

'šlm: Nab

Inscription No.72, One-word name. "Submit", Masculine.

The personal name appears in other Nabataean inscriptions as 'šlmw (see JS308; R. Savignac, RB42 (1933), p.421). It also occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as 'šlm (see Harding, Index, p.49; Ryckmansi, p.209) and in Hatra inscriptions (see A. Caquot, Syria 41 (1964), pp.263, 266). This name 'šlm, which may be an imperative form corresponds to the Arabic personal name أُسْلَم (see Lisān 12, p.299).

bwlñ: Nab

Inscription No.91:2, Divine name used as personal name, Masculine

This name may be compared with the personal name which occurs in Palmyrene as bwlñ (see Stark, PNP, p.75). bwl is a divine name known in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, pp.74-75). For parallels see K. Beyer and A. Livingston, ZDMG137 (1987), p.292.

b^cqt: Nab

Inscription No.4, One-word name "he shouted", Masculine

This personal name appears in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.111). It may be related to the Arabic verb بَعَقَ, "to

shout", (see Lisān 10, p.22; Harding, Index, p.111).

b^ctw: Aram:

Inscription No.4B:1, One-word name, Masculine.

The Name is found. in Nabataean inscriptions as b^ctw (see JS151; Cantineau II, p.73). A related name also occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as b^cṭ (see Harding, Index, p.109) and as b^cṭ (see Ryckmansi, p.54).

This name corresponds to the Arabic personal names بَاعِثُ, بَعِثُ and الْبَعِثُ (see Lisān 2, p.117) which are formed from the classical root بَعَثَ, "sent", (see Lisān 2, p.116).

brk': Nab

Inscription No.21, Hypocoristicon. "Blessing by "(Divine name)", Masculine

A related personal name is attested in other Nabataean inscriptions as bryk (see Cantineau II p.75) and brky' (see Kornfeld, OAA, p.45). The name occurs in other Semitic languages, such as Phoenician (see Phoen PN, p.101), old Aramaic (see Maraqtē, SPRIV, pp.73, 144), Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, pp.11-79), pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.102; and for parallels see Ryckmans, p.55), Biblical Hebrew (בָּרַךְ) (see BDB p.140 and Syriac (ܒܪܟܐ) (see Dic. Syr p.404). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal names مَبْرُوكٌ and بَارِكٌ (see Lisān 10, p.400).

The name brk' may be related to the Syriac brākā, "blessing", which is formed from the root ܠܒܪܟ "to bless", (see Dic. Syr p.38). The root occurs in most Semitic languages, in Phoenician (see Tombaek, Phoen, p.56), in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UH, p.220; and for more references see Gordon, UT, p.376) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Dic. Sab p.31). The verb is also found in Biblical Aramaic as ܒܪܟ and Biblical Hebrew as בָּרַךְ (see BDB pp.138, 108S) and in classical Arabic as بَارَكَ, "bless", (see Lisān 10, pp.395-396).

gblw Nab

Inscription No.3:2, One-word name. "stout. big", Masculine.

A related personal name is found in Ugaritic as gbl (see Gordon, UT, p.378), in Hatra inscriptions (see A. Caquot, Syria 30 (1953), p.236) and in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.81). gblh and gbl are also names found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.152; Ryckmansi, p.57). The name gblw corresponds to the Arabic names جَبَلَة and جَبِيل (see Lisān 11, p.99).

The name may be related to the Arabic noun جَبَل, "mountain". It is also used as a predicate of people who remain firm and are not excited or affected by adverse events (see Lisān 11, pp.96-99).

gdyw: Nab

Inscription No.3:1, One-word name. "small goat", Masculine

A similar personal name appears in Ugaritic as gdy (see Gordon, UT, p.379), in Phoenician (see Phoen PN, p.102), in Hatra inscriptions (see A. Caquot, Syria 41 (1964), p.252) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.156). gd' and gdy' also figure in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.81). The name is found in Biblical Hebrew as גִּדְיָ (see BDB p.151).

The name may be related to the Semitic gd, "fortune", which occurs in Biblical Hebrew as גִּדְיָ (see BDB p.151) and in Syriac as ܓܕܝܐ, "god of fortune", (see Dic. Syr p.42). In this case the name would be a shortened form of gd'l meaning "fortune of 'l". A better interpretation is that gdyw is related to the classical Arabic جَدْي, "small goat", (see al-Muḥīṭ p.225), which is also known in Ugaritic as gdy (see Gordon, UT, p.378) and in Phoenician (see Tombaek, Phoen, p.63).

gyd Nab

Inscription No.57:2, One-word name. "Generous", Masculine

A related name is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as 'gwd,

an afcal form, (see Harding, Index, pp.23, 170; Ryckmansi, p.59). The name may be related to the Arabic جواد "generous"; "excellent", (see Lisān 3, pp.135-137).

glpw: Nab

Inscription No.38, One-word name. "rough, rude", Masculine. The personal name is known in Palmyrene (see RES 817:4) and as glp' in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.165; Braden, Tham, p.561).

The name may be derived from the root glp, "to carve, sculpt", which occurs in old Aramaic (see DISO p.50; Cooke, NSI, p.205) and in Syriac as ܓܠܦ (see Dic. Syr p.49), which would mean in this case "engraver, sculpter". The best explanation, however, is that the name glpw may be related to either the Arabic جلف "a small piece of skin" or جلف, "rough, rude", (see Lisān 9, pp.30-31).

grmn: Aram

Inscription Nos 3:2, 4A:1, Hypocoristicon. "(Divine name) decided", Masculine.

A related personal name occurs in Nabataean as grmw (see Cantineau II, p.79), in Palmyrene as grmy (see Stark, PNP, p.82), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as grm, grmn and grm'l (see Ryckmansi, p.63, 222bis; Harding, Index, p.160) and in Syriac as grmw, šmšgrm and grm'lt (see al-Jadir pp.368, 410). The tribal name ܓܪܡܝܬ is found in Biblical Hebrew (see BDB p.175).

The structural type of this name is one formed from a verb plus a divine name. The name grmn is derived from the Semitic root grm, "to cut off", but the usual metaphorical use gives the meaning "to decide" (see al-Jadir p.368). The verb is attested in Syriac as ܓܪܡܐ (see Dic. Syr p.54).

g³m: Nab

Inscription No.5, One-word name. "Burden", Masculine

A similar name is found in other Nabataean inscriptions as g³mw (see CISi 1009; CISii 2151:2; Euting, Sin, 58:1, 167, 345:1; Cantineau II, p.80; Khraysheh, PNP, pp.57-58). The name g³m appears in old Aramaic (see Gibson, TSSI, 25) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Ryckmansi, p.290).

The name may share the same root as the classical Arabic جَشِمَ, "undergo, make suffer", (see Lisān 12, pp.100-101). This name corresponds to the Arabic personal name جَشَمَ (see Lisān 12, p.101).

hn'kn: Nab

Inscription No.4, uncertain, Masculine.

This personal name could be interpreted in two different ways: (a) as a personal name associated with the classical Arabic word هَنَكُ, "grain, seed", (see Lisān 11, p.508). hnkn as a personal name appears in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.627). (b) as a compound of hn' plus the adjective kn, "right, honest", which occurs in Biblical Hebrew as חָנָן (see BDB p.467), in Syriac as ܚܢܐ and ܚܢܐ (see Dic. Syr p.153) and in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.420). Thus in this case the name would be a nominal sentence meaning "hn' is honest".

h^cly: Aram

Inscription No.11:3, Hypocoristicon. "(Divine name) has exalted", Masculine.

A similar name is found in Phoenician as h^clln (see Gordon, UT, p.456), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as h^cll (see Harding, Index, p.618; and for more parallels see Ryckmansi, p.164) in Palmyrene as h^clyt, h^clyy and h^clyb h^cl (see Stark, PNP, p.106) and in Syriac as h^clbl (see al-Jadir p.398).

The name h^cly, an Aramaic hapcel form, is probably derived from the Semitic verb cⁱly, "rise, go up", which occurs in Phoenician (see Tombaek, Phoen, p.244), in ugaritic (see Gordon, UH, p.256), in Biblical Hebrew as לָחַץ (see BDB p.748), in Syriac as ܠܚܥ (see Dic. Syr p.253) and in pre-islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Dic. Sab p.15; Biella, OSA, p.365). The name h^cly corresponds to the Arabic personal names عَلَوَان, عَلَوَان and مُعَلَّى (see Lisan 15, p.94).

w'lw: Nab

Inscription No.5, One-word name (perhaps hypocoristicon) "taking refuge, seeking, shelter", Masculine.

A related personal name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions as w'lt (see Winnett, Reed 107:3; JS77). A similar name is also found in Syriac as w'l (see al-Jadir p.370) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as w'lt (see Ryckmans, p.75; Harding, Index, p.632).

The personal name w'lw is connected with the Syriac feminine noun ܐܠܘܐ, "veil, covering", (see Dic. Syr p.81; al-Jadir p.370). It seems to have been a common name among the Edessan people in the early period. One of the kings of Edessa was known by this name (see al-Jadir p.370). The Arab personal name is وَالِد, an active participle derived from the root وَال, "to take refuge", (see Cooke, NSI, p.106; Lasiān 11, p.715). Nowadays this personal name is very common among the Arabs.

whbn: Nab

Inscription No.46:2, Hypocoristicon. "Gift of (Divine name)", Masculine.

The name is found in other Nabataean inscriptions as whbw (see JS 7:8, JS165) and also as whb'lh (see Littmann, Nab 44:1; Euting, Sin, 622; Euting, Nab, 3:11). It is found in Palmyrene as whb'lt and whby (see Stark, PNP, p.85) in old Aramaic (whbw) (see Maraqtan, SPRIV, pp.78, 156), in Hatra inscription (whwb') (see A. Caquot, Syria 32

(1955), p.264) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as whb, whbn and whb'l (see Harding, Index, pp.651, 653; Jamme, *SH*, 1013A; Oxtoby, *Ṣaf*, p.164; Ryckmans, pp.224-225). It corresponds to the Arabic personal names وَهْبُ مَوْهَبُ and عَبْدُ الْوَهَابُ (see *Lisān* 1, pp.804-805).

The name whbn, which is the shortened form of whb'lhy, is derived from the Semitic root yhb, "give, transfer", which occurs in other Semitic languages, including old Aramaic and Palmyrene (see *DISO* pp.105-106), Biblical Hebrew (יָהַב) and Biblical Aramaic (יָהַב) (see *BDB* pp.396, 1095) and Syriac (ܝܗܒ) (see *Dic. Syr* p.138). The verb is also known in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as whb (see Biella, *OSA*, p.123; *Dic. Sab* p.153) and in classical Arabic as وَهَبَ, الْوَهَابُ is one of god's names (see *Lisān* 1, pp.803-804).

wknw: Nab

Inscription No.25, One-word name. "Nest", Masculine.

The name may be associated with the Arabic وَكْنٌ, "nest", formed from وَكَنَ "set upon the nest", (see *Lisān* 13, p.452).

wrlt: Nab

Inscription No.55, One-word name. "Lizard", Feminine.

wrlt is a personal name which may be related to the Arabic الْوَرَلُ, "a large venomous lizard", (see *Lisān* 11, p.724). The name appears in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as wrl (see Harding, Index, p.640; Ryckmans, pp.81-82; and also for more discussions).

zbd: Nab

Inscription No.49, Hypocoristicon. "Gift of (Divine name)", Masculine.

The name is found in other Nabataean inscriptions as zbd' (see JS360; Euting, Nab, 20:1), zbdw (see Winnett, Reed 118) and zbd (see Cantineau II, p.91). It is found as zbd and zbdbwl in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.85), as zbydw in Hatra inscriptions (see A. Caquot, Syria 32 (1955), p.5), as zbd and zbdw in old Aramaic (see Maraqtan,

SPRIV, pp.79, 157), as zbdy and zbyd in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.294; Jamme, *SH*, 1024; Kornfeld, OAA, p.48; Oxtoby, *Şaf*, p.145; and for parallels see Ryckmansi, p.83), as ܕܒܕܝ in Syriac (see Dic. Syr p.407) and as 𐤅𐤁𐤁, masculine, and 𐤅𐤁𐤁𐤀, feminine, in Biblical Hebrew (see BDB p.256) زُبَيْد is a tribal name from Yamman (see *Lisān* 3, p.194).

The best explanation of the name is that it is derived from the Semitic root zbd, "to endow, bestow", which occurs in both Biblical Hebrew as 𐤅𐤁𐤁 (see BDB p.256) and in Syriac as ܕܒܕܝ (see Dic.Syr p.83). zbd, "gift", as a noun also figures in pre-islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Dic. Sab p.170) and as زَبْدٌ, "gift, donation", in classical Arabic (see *Lisān* 3, p.193). The feminine personal name زُبَيْدَة is current nowadays among Arabs.

zbdw: Nab

Inscription No.88, Hypocoristicon. "Gift of (Divine name)", Masculine.

See above under Zbd

zby: Nab

Inscription No.36, Hypocoristicon. "Gift of (Divine name)", Masculine.

This personal name is found in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.86), in Syriac (see al-Jadir p.372), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.295; Kornfeld, OAA, p.48) and in Biblical Hebrew as 𐤅𐤁𐤁 (see BDB p.256).

The best explanation of this name (though Ryckmansi, p.83 and al-Jadir p.372, derive the name from Arabic زَبَى, "to carry, take up") is that it is an abbreviated form of a name beginning with the word zbd, "gift". (see Cooke, NSI, pp.273, 291).

zby'l: Nab

Inscription No.69, Genitive compound. "Gift of 'l", Masculine

This name is a compound of zby, "gift", (see above under zby) and 'l, the well known Semitic deity. See further A. Jamme, *le Muséon* 60

(1947), pp.113-114; BDB p.42; Cooke, NSI, p.165).

zgyw: Nab

Inscription No.3:2, One-word name. "He succeeded", Masculine

A related personal name occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as zgy (see Harding, Index, p.295). It may be of the same root as the Arabic جى, "drive, urge, succeed", (see Lisān 14, p.355). جى is also the name of a valley in NW of Arabia (see Yāqūt 3, p.133).

zhmy: Nab

Inscription No.52:2, One-word name. "who is from zhm", Masculine.

This may be associated with the name زحم, a Makkah name (see Lisān 12, p.262). The place-name zhm possibly referring to a "narrow" place.

zydw: Nab

Inscription Nos 53, 85, Hypocoristicon. "Increase of (Divine name), Masculine.

This occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions in other forms such as zyd'lhy (see CISi 187:2; JS107; Euting, Nab, 65:1) and zydqwm (see Cantineau II, p.92). The personal names zyd'l, zydh and zyd are also found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, pp.304-305; Jamme, SH, 1013, 1021; al-Ansary, Lih, p.88; Ryckmans, pp.84, 261) and zydlt is found in Syriac (al-Jadir p.373). The name zydw is also found in Old Aramaic (see Maraqtan, SPRIV, pp.75, 159).

The name zydw is related to the Arab. زَدَّ derived from زَادَ "to increase", (see Lisān3, pp.198-200). The names زَبْدُ and يَزِيدُ are common among Arabs.

hbnw: Nab

Inscription No.66:2, One-word name. "Dropsy", Masculine.

A related personal name can be seen in pre-Islamic Arabian

inscriptions as ḥbn and ḥbnn (see Harding, Index, p.175; Ryckmansi, p.87) and as ḥbn in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.87).

The most acceptable explanation (though Ryckmansi, p.87 and E. Littmann, BSOAS 15 (1953), p.21, relate this name to the Arabic root حَبَّ, "to love") is that this personal name has the same root as the Arabic حَبْنٌ, "to be affected with dropsy", (see Lisān 13, p.104). The name ḥbnw may be compared with the Arabic names حَبُونُ, الحَيْنُ, حَبُونُ and حَبُونُ, (see Lisān 13, p.106).

ḥgw: Nab

Inscription No.68:1, One-word name. "Pilgrim", Masculine.

A similar name (hgy) appears in both Phoenician (see Phoen PN, pp.109, 307) and in old Aramaic (see Maraqten, SPRIV, pp.79, 152) in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as hgy and hgg (see Harding, Index, pp.177-178; Kornfeld, OAA, p.49; Ryckmansi, p.88 and for discussion), in Palmyrene as hgyw (see Stark, PNP, p.87; Cooke, NSI, 118:2), in Syriac as ܡܚܝܐ (see Dic.Syr p.408) and in both Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic as ܡܚܝܐ (see BDB pp.291, 1092; and also for more parallels). The name hgy is also a Jewish name occurring among Jewish exiles in Babylon (see Stark, PNP, p.87).

The name is derived from the root which occurs in Biblical Hebrew as ܡܚܝܐ "make a pilgrimage", (see BDB p.290), in Syriac ܡܚܝܐ as (see Dic. Syr p.96), in classical Arabic as حَجَّ (see Lisān 2, p.226) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as hgg, "perform a pilgrimage", see Dic. Sab p.66). The name hgw corresponds to the Arabic personal name الحَجَّاج (see Lisān 2, p.230).

ḥwrw, Nab

Inscription No.1, 12,78. One-word name. "young Camel", Masculine.

A Similar name occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ḥwr, ḥwrn and ḥwrn (see Harding, Index, p. 208)

The best explanation is that this personal name is related to the classical

Arabic word الحُرُور "young camal", (see Lisān 4, p. 221).

ḥmh: Aram

Inscription No.1:1, One-word name, Masculine.

This is the name of an eastern subsection of both the Judham and cabdalqais tribes. The name ḥmh may be related to the Arabic verb حَطَّمَ, "destroy". الحَطْمَةُ is a title given in Arabic to "hell" because it destroys everything (see Lisān 12, pp.137, 140).

ḥmw: Nab

Inscription No.26:1, One-word name. "Nomad", Masculine.

The name appears in other Nabataean inscriptions as ḥym (see CISi 349:3; JS309). It is related to the Arabic خَيَْام, "nomad", (see CISi p.301; JSII, p.214; Cantineau II, p.95).

ḥyn: Nab

Inscription No.70, One-word name, Masculine.

A similar personal name is found in Palmyrene as ḥyny (see Stark, PNP, p.88), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ḥyw and ḥyn (see Harding, Index, p.211; Littmann, Semitic, p.127; Ryckmans, p.91) and in Biblical Hebrew as חַיָּ (see BDB p.313; and for more references).

The name is derived from the Semitic root ḥwy, "to live", which occurs in other Semitic languages, including Ugaritic (see Gordon, UH, p.228; and for more parallels see Gordon, UT, p.396), Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, p.100), pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Biella, OSA, pp.173-174; Dic. Sab p.75), in Biblical Hebrew as חַיָּ (see BDB p.310) and in Syriac as سِد (see Dic. Syr pp.102-103). The name ḥyn corresponds to the Arabic personal names حَيَّان, حَيَّاء, حَيَّاء and يَحْيَى (see Lisān 14, p.221). Alternatively, the name may be a shortened form of ḥyn'lh. In this case it would be a verbal sentence meaning "lh' is alive".

ḥyn'lh: Nab

Inscription No.88, verbal sentence. "lh' is alive", Masculine.

This name consists of ḥyn (see above under ḥyn) plus the divine name 'lh/'lh'.

ḥmdw: Nab

Inscription No.12, One-word name. "praise-giver", Masculine

The name occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ḥmd and ḥmdn (see Harding, Index, p.200; Ryckmansi, p.93), in Biblical Hebrew as חַמְדָּ (see BDB p.326). It may be compared with the Arabic personal names محمود, حمد, حامد and أحمد which are still in use among Arabs.

The name is derived from the Semitic root ḥmd, "praise, desire", which appears in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UH, p.228), in Phoenician (see Tombaek, Phoen, p.106), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Biella, OSA, pp.178-179; Dic. Sab p.68), in Biblical Hebrew as חַמְדָּ (see BDB p.326) and in classical Arabic as حَمْد (see Lisān 3, pp.155-158). The name ḥmdw may have a connection with ḥamid, an epithet of a deity in the late Lihyanite period (see al-Ansary, Lih, p.74).

ḥmyd: Nab

Inscription No.57:2, One-word name. "praised", Masculine

The name ḥmyd, a passive participle, corresponds to the Arabic personal names حَمِيد and حُمَيْد. See above under ḥmdw

ḥmyn: Nab

Inscription No: 50 .1, One-word name. "warm", Masculine.

The name appears in Palmyren Inscription (see stark, PNP, p. 89) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p. 205)

It may be taken as containing the root ḥmy (ḥmiyn) in "to be warm" (see Lisān, 14 p. 201) in the adjectival formation Faḥlān.

ḥn't's: Nab

Inscription No.13. Verbal sentence with the perfect. "s is gracious", Masculine.

The best explanation that this name is compound of ḥn't. (The masculine verb on a feminine noun is strange) which may be related to the root ḥnn, "be gracious, favour", (see Huffmon, APNMT, p.200, see below under ḥnynw) and the divine name 's (see Cantineau II, p.65). Structural type verb plus divine name.

ḥnynw: Nab

Inscription No.37, Hypocoristicon. "Favoured by (Divine name)", Masculine.

ḥnyn' and ḥnynw are names found in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.89), in Ugaritic ḥnn'l (see Gordon, UH, p.229), ḥnn in both Phoenician (see Phoen PN, p.125) and old Aramaic (see Maraqtē, SPRIV, pp.81, 166), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ḥnny and ḥnn (see Harding, Index, p.206; Kornfeld, OAA, pp.50-51; Ryckamsni, p.95), in Hatra inscriptions as ḥnyn' (see A.Caquot, Syria 32 (1955), p.267) in Syriac as ܫܢܢܐ (see Dic. Syr p.408), in post-Biblical time as ܫܢܢܐ (see Jastrow p.483) and also in Biblical Hebrew as ܫܢܢܐ (see BDB p.336, for parallels).

This name, a pa^cel passive participle is derived from the Semitic root ḥnn, "to show favour, to be merciful", which occurs in Phoenician (see Tombaek, Phoen, pp.109-110, in old Aramaic (see DISO p.92); in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.398), as ܫܢܢܐ in Biblical Hebrew (see BDB p.335) as ܫܢܢܐ in Syriac (see Dic. Syr p.109) and as ܫܢܢܐ in classical Arabic (see Lisān 13, p.128). The w at the end of the name here and sometimes elsewhere represents the hypocoristic ending. The name hynw may be compared with the Arabic personal names ܫܢܢܐ and ܫܢܢܐ (see Lisān 13, p.133).

ḥrn: Nab

Inscription No.67, One-word name, Masculine.

The name may be related to the city of hrn, a city in northern Mesopotamia, junction of trading rout (see BDB p.357; *Yāqūt* 2, p.235). As a personal name, it is found in Biblical Hebrew as חֲרָן (see BDB p.357). A related name occurs in Ugaritic as hrny (see Gordon, UT, p.405) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as hrn (see Harding, Index, 186). The name hrn corresponds to the Arabic personal name حَرِين (see *Lisān* 13, p.111).

hšykw: Nab, Inscription No.83:2, One-word name, Masculine. The name hšykw, a passive participle form, is related to the classical Arabic names حَسَك and حَسَكَة (see CISi p.245; Euting, Nab, p.51; Cantineau, p.100). The name may be formed from the root حَسَك, "to be angry with" (see *Lisān* 10, p.411). Alternatively, it may be related to the noun حَسَك, "thorn, prickles".

yd^cl: Nab

Inscription No.34, Verbal sentence. "I knows (him)", Masculine.

The personal name could be interpreted in two equally acceptable ways.

Firstly, the name yd^cl, third person imperfect hapcel, may be related to the Arabic دَاعِل, "runaway", (see *Lisān* 11, p.244). In this case, it would be a one-word name, meaning "runaway". The second possibility is that the name consists of yd^c, "know", plus the divine name 'l (for further parallels see BDB pp.41-42). The root yd^c is also found in other Semitic languages, including Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.409), Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, p.124), pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Dic. Sab p.167), Old Aramaic (see DISO pp.104-105; Brauner, CLOA, p.244) as יִדְעַל in Biblical Hebrew and יִדְעַל in Biblical Aramaic (see BDB pp.393, 1095) and as ܝܕܥܠ in Syriac (see Dic. Syr p.137; Healey, FSS, p.168). A related personal name occurs in Palmyrene as ydy^cbl (see Stark, PNP, p.90). yd^c mlk is a name found in Phoenician (see Phoen PN, p.127). The name appears in pre-Islamic Arabian as yd^c l (see Harding, Index, p.664) and in Biblical Hebrew as יִדְעַל (see BDB p.396). The name yd^cl is also attested in old Aramaic (see Maraqten, SPRIV, pp.82, 169).

y^cmr: Nab

Inscription No.49:1, One-word name. "He lives", Masculine

A similar name is found in other Nabataean inscriptions as y^c mrw with a final w (see CISi 195:3, 316:3; Cantineau II, p.133; Khraysheh, PNN, p.97). It can also be seen in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.677; Ryckamnsi, 167).

The name y^cmr, a third person imperfect, is derived from the Arabic عَمَرَ, عَمَّرَ, "live", and the noun is عُمَر, "life", (see Lisān, p.608) which is also found in Syriac as ܥܡܪܐ (see Dic. Syr p.256).

y^c tw: Nab

Inscription No.19:1, Verbal sentence. "(Divine name) aids", Masculine

This personal name is related to the Arabic verb غَاثَ, "call for help, appeal", the noun غَوْثَ, "assistance", (see Lisan 2, p.174) and is known as cyt in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Dic. Sab p.55). The Biblical Hebrew verb עָזַר, "aid", (see BDB p.736; Jastrow p.1059) is the equivalent of the classical Arabic, غَاثَ.

Another possibility might be that y^c tw is associated with the pre-Islamic Arabian deity yctw which was worshipped in Yamman (see al-Kalbi, p.57) which is also mentioned in the Qurʾān (see 71:22). The name corresponds to the Arabic name غَيْثٌ (see Lisān 2, p.175) and to the Biblical Hebrew name עֲזַרְיָה (see BDB p.736).

khylw: Nab

Inscription No.28, One-word name. "Elderly", Masculine.

The name is found in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, pp.28, 92; Cooke, NSI, 141:2) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.506; Ryckmans, p.113). The name can be compared with the Arabic personal name كَيْلٌ and كامل.

The name is associated with the pre-Islamic deity khl who was worshipped in Arabia as a moon-god and caravan-god (see Jawādi, pp.295, 335; Ryckmans, p.16). An image of khl was found at al-Fau

in Saudi Arabia. Alternatively, the name khylw a diminutive, may be related to the classical Arabic كَهْلٌ "mature age, person who has passed the age of 50", (see *Lisān* 11, p.600). Another alternatively khylw may be interpreted as the passive participle of the Aramaic verb khl, "to be able", (see Brauner, CLOA, p.255); DISO pp.115-116), seen also in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Dic. Sab p.77; Biella, OSA, p.241).

Klybw: Nab

Inscription Nos 37, 43, One-word name. "Little dog", Masculine.

The name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions in the forms klbw, klb' and 'klb (see Cantineau II, p.107; Khraysheh, PNN, p.100). The name klb' is also found in Phoenician (see Phoen PN, p.131), as klb' and klby in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.92), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as klb and klbn (see Harding, Index, pp.501, 503; Ryckmans, p.114), as klb in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UH, p.238), as klbw in old Aramaic (see Maraqtan, SPRIV, pp.85, 174) and as כְּלִבִּי in Biblical Hebrew (see BDB p.477). One might expect animal names (such as 'sdw and klbw) to figure in the personal names of the Nabataean inscriptions because it is well-known that the Arabs took their names from natural phenomena.

The name klybw is the diminutive form of the Arabic كَلْبٌ "dog", (see *Lisān* 1, p.722). The noun klb is known in most Semitic languages, in Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, p.142), in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.419), in Old Aramaic (see DISO pp.120-121 and also for parallels) in Biblical Hebrew as כְּלִבִּי (see BDB p.476), Jastrow p.639) and in Syriac as ܟܠܒܐ (see Dic. Syr p.156). The name klybw corresponds to the Arabic personal names كَلْبِيبٌ and كِلَابِ (see *Lisān* 1, p.727) بنو كلاب is the name of a famous Arab tribe (see al-Jadir p.355).

mbrmw: Nab

Inscription No.28, One-word name. "Weaver?", Masculine.

The name may be the active participle aphcal form of the classical Arabic أَبْرَمَ, "to spin, weave", (see *Lisān* 12, pp.43-44). A related personal name is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as mbrm (see Harding, Index, p.525).

mḥnbwk: Nab

Inscription No.30, One-word name. "The one who is strong", Masculine.

The name may be the active participle aphcal form of the classical Arabic حَنَبَ . تَحْنِبُ , "one who is described as tough, strong", (see *Lisān* 1, p.335). It is so hard to explain the k (however, it could be mistakenly written therefore the best reading would be mḥnbw).

mnšwrw: Nab

Inscription No.83, One-word name. "The one who gains victory", Masculine

A similar name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions as nšrw (see Cantineau II, p.122; Littmann, Nab, 98) and as nšr'lhy (see Khraysheb, PNN, p.122). The name nšrw is also found in Hatra inscriptions (see A. Caquot, Syria 40 (1963), p.70) nšr'l and nšr are also names attested in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.590; for more discussion see Ryckmansi, p.143). It is found in post-Biblical time as נִשְׂרָא (see Jastrow p.930). This name is active participle aphcel, from the Semitic verb nšr, "provide, support, protect", which occurs in Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, p.221), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Biella, OSA, p.312; Dic. Sab p.100), in Biblical Hebrew as נִשְׂרָא (see BDB p.665; Jastrow p.929), in Syriac as ܢܫܪܐ (see Dic. Syr p.211) and as نَصْرَ in classical Arabic (see *Lisān* 5, pp.210-211). The name mnšwrw (which is perhaps with the hypocoristicon ending w is to be compared with the Arabic personal names مَنْصُور, ناصر, نَصْر, and نُصَيْرُ (see *Lisān* 5, p.212).

mntnw: Nab

Inscription No.94:1, Hypocoristicon "Gift of Divine name", Masculine.

The name is the passive participle, aphcel form of the verb ntn (see

below under ntn' p.347).

M^cntn: Aram

Inscription No.2:2, One-word name. "Little, small", Feminine

The name is the feminine form of m^cn, found in Nabataean as m^cnw (see JS119, JS147; Cantineau II, p.117), in Syriac as m^cnw and m^cn' (see al-Jadir pp.383-384), in Palmyrene (see Stark,PNP, p.96) in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as m^cnt and m^cn (see Ryckmans, pp.130, 235; Harding, Index, p.526) and in Hatra inscription as m^cn' (see A. Caquot, Syria 32 (1955), p.50)..

The best explanation (though Stark, PNP, p.96 suggested that the name could be the pre-Islamic Arabian divine name used also as a personal name) is that the name m^cntn corresponds to the Arabic personal name مَعْنُ which is formed from مَعَنَ, "to be little", (see Lisān 13, p.410).

mr': Aram

Inscription No.11:9, One-word name. "Lord", Masculine.

A similar name occurs in Palmyrene as mry' and mr' (see Stark, PNP, p.97), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as mr' (see Harding, Index, p.536; Ryckmans, p.132) and in Syriac as ܡܪܝܐ (see Dic. Syr p.412).

The name may be related to the element mr', "lord", ܡܪܝܐ (see Dic. Syr p.191). Alternatively the name mr' could be (as suggested by al-Jadir p.387) related to the Arabic name مَرَوَان from the word مَرَوَة meaning, "white pebbles like flint-stone".

mr'y: Aram

Inscription No.8:2, Hypocoristicon "(Divine name) is Lord", Masculine

The final y represents the hypocoristic ending, (see above under mr')

m³lmw: Nab

Inscription Nos 17, 77, 79, One-word name. "submitted", Masculine

A related personal name is found in Palmyrene as mšlm (see Stark, PNP, pp.97-98), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as mšlm and mšlmt (see Harding, Index, pp.545-546; Ryckmansi, pp.150-151; and for references) and in Biblical Hebrew as מְשִׁלֵּם (see BDB p.1024).

The name mšlmw is passive participle aphcel form from מָשַׁל, "to be safe". It appears that the w is the hypocoristic ending. The name may also be compared with the Arabic personal name مُسْلِم (see Lisān 12, p.300). (see below under šlymw)

mtyw: Nab, Inscription Nos 9, 10, 18:1:2, uncertain, Masculine

Similar names appear in Palmyrene as mt' and mtbwl (see Stark, PNP, p.98), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as mt'l and mt' (see Harding, Index, p.526; Littmann, Semitic, p.127), in Phoenician as mtb'l (see Phoen PN, p.143) and in Syriac as (see Dic. Syr p.413).

There are three possible explanations: the first is that the name mtyw is related to the Arab root مَتْنٌ "firm, strong", (see Lisān 13, pp.398-399) which is a shortened form of mtn'l "'l is strong". In this case the name would be a hypocoristic meaning "strong one of (Divine name)" (a less likely interpretation suggested by Stark, PNP, p.98 is that the meaning of mtbwl is "gift of bwl" with the element mt related to the verb ntn, "to give"); the second possibility is that this name may be associated with the Semitic noun mt, "man", which is found in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.439) and in Biblical Hebrew as אִישׁ (see BDB p.607; and more parallels). In this case the name would be a one-word name meaning "man". The third and most likely possibility is that the name is related to the Arabic مَت (see Lisān 2, p.88).

mtmn: Aram

Inscription No.4A:2, One-word name. "Perfected", Masculine.

Related personal names appear in Phoenician as mtm and mtmb'l (see Phoen, PN, p.143), in Ugaritic as mtm (see Gordon, UT, p.440) and pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.526). The

name is to be compared with the Arabic personal name **مَتَمِّم** and **تَمِيم** (see Lisān 12, p.71).

The name is derived from the Semitic verb **tm**, "to make perfect, complete" which occurs in other Semitic languages, including Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, p.342), Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.498), in Biblical Hebrew as **תָּמַם** (see BDB p.1070) and in Syriac as **ܬܡܡ** (see Dic. Syr p.393). The verb is also found in classical Arabic as **تَمَّ**, "complete", (see Lisān 12, p.67) on the suffix (n). This suffix usually expresses the result of an action (see below under **mm**).

mtnw: Nab

Inscription No.84:1, One-word name. "firm, strong", Masculine.

The best explanation for this name (though, Stark, PNP, p.98, suggested that this name is a hypocoristicon derived from the verb **ntn**, "give") is that it is derived from the same root as the Arabic **مَتْن** (see above under **mtyw**). **mtn** is also a place-name (see Gordon, UT, p.435).

nbw: Nab

Inscription Nos 33, 64, One-word name. "One who searches for water", Masculine

The name is found in other Nabataean inscriptions as a place-name (see Cantineau II, p.119) and as a tribal name (see Winnett, Reed 16:2, 79:10; Cook, Glossary, p.80; Cooke, NSI, 78:4, 81:9). However, the personal name is found in Biblical Hebrew as **נְבִי** (see BDB p.614; Jastrow p.868) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as **nbw** (see Harding, Index, p.579; Ryckmans, p.236). The name is derived from the verb found in Biblical Hebrew as **נָבַח** "dig a well down to water", (see BDB p.613) and it appears as **نَبَّ** in classical Arabic (see Lisān 7, p.410).

n ḡlh: Aram

Inscription No.9:2, Verbal sentence with the perfect. "god has touched", Masculine.

This name is made up of nḡ, "touch", and 'lh^hlh^h (see Cantineau II, p.63). The first element nḡ is found in Old Aramaic as a verb (see DISO p.174) and in Biblical Hebrew as נָגַח (see BDB p.619; and for parallels). It is also found as a personal name in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.582).

nh'l: Aram

Inscription No.9:4, One-word name. "One who drinks, takes too much", Masculine

The name may be derived from the root which occurs in Biblical Hebrew as הָגַח, "lead, guide to a watering place", (see BDB pp.624-625; Jastrow p.881). It is also known in classical Arabic as هَجَل, "to drink, to take too much", (see Lisān 11, pp.680-681). In addition the noun mnhl, "watering place", figures in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Biella, OSA, p.295). The names nhln appear in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.602) and nhl (see Ryckmans, p.137). The ' in nh'l may be one of the first examples of the long (ā) (matey lections).

nmn: Nab

Inscription No.72, verbal sentence (perhaps a hypocoristicon) "Divine name has comforted", Masculine.

A similar name is found in Phoenician as nmmy (see Cooke, NSI, 24:4 Phoen, PN, p.148), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as nm (see Kornfeld, OAA, p.62) and in Biblical Hebrew as נָחַם and נָחַם (see BDB pp.637 and for parallels).

The name comes from the Semitic root nm, "to console, comfort", which occurs in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, 443), in old Aramaic (see DISO p.176), in Biblical Hebrew as נָחַם (see BDB p.636) and in Syriac as ܢܚܡ (see Dic. Syr p.201). It may be also related to the

Arabic نُحِيم , "breathe deeply and violently", (see Lisān 12, p.571).

nab: Nab

Inscription No.27, Nominal phrase. "Good fortune", Masculine

The name may be related to the Syriac ܢܒܐ , "augury", (see Dic. Syr p.201). It appeared as a personal name in Old Aramaic (see CISi 120), in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.99; and for more parallels) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.583; Ryckmans, p.231). nab is known as a divine name in pre-Islamic Arabian (see Ryckmans, p.22).

nqb: Nab

Inscription No.14, One-word name. "Leader, chief", Masculine.

A related personal name appears in Palmyrene as nqb' (see Stark, PNP, p.100) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as nqb (see Harding, Index, p.597; Ryckmans, p.144).

The name is derived from the Semitic root nqb, "pierce, dig", which can be seen in pre-Islamic Arabian (see Dic. Sab p.97), in Biblical Hebrew as נָבַד (see BDB p.666; Jastrow p.930), in Syriac as ܢܒܕ (see Dic. Syr p.212) and in classical Arabic as نَبَّ (see Lisān 1, p.765). The noun is also found in Syriac as ܢܒܚܐ, "chief, governor", (see Dic. Syr p.212) and in Arabic as نقيب "Chief, leader", (see Lisān 1, p.769).

nb: Nab

Inscription Nos 80, 86, Hypocoristicon. "Servant of (Divine name)", Masculine

This personal name is found frequently in most Semitic language, including Ugaritic (see Gordon, UH, p.255), Phoenician (see Phoen PN, p.148), old Aramaic (see Maraqten, SPRIV, pp.93, 191) in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, pp.396-397; Littmann, Semitic, 8, 14, 58; al-Ansary, Li, p.89) and in Biblical Hebrew as נָבִי (see BDB p.714).

The term ^cbd, "servant", is very often used in Semitic onomastics in theophorous names compounded of ^cbd and a divine name. Therefore it seems that this name is most likely a hypocoristic. The noun ^cbd, "servant", is found in most Semitic languages, for example in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.452), Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, pp.235-236), in old Aramaic (see DISO p.201), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Biella, OSA, p.349; Dic. Sab p.11), in Syriac as ܒܕ and ܒܕܐ (see Dic. Syr p.241; Healey, FSS, p.176), in Biblical Hebrew as בד and in Biblical Aramaic as בד (see BDB pp.713, 1105). It is also seen in classical Arabic as عبد (see Lisān 3, p.270).

^cbd'lg: Nab

Inscription No.15, Genitive compound. "servant of 'lg'", Masculine

The name is made up of ^cbd, "servant", (see above under ^cbd) and 'lg' which is a divine name (see Cantineau II, p.76).

^cbd'lh: Nab

Inscription No.23, Genitive compound. "servant of 'lh'", Masculine

This name is attested in pre-Islamic Arabian (see Harding, Index, p.397). Similar names appear in Hatra inscription as ^cbdlh (see A. Caquot, Syria 40 (1963), p.9), in Palmyrene ^cbdlt, (see Stark, PNP, p.102) and in Syriac (see al-Jadir p.392). This name corresponds to the Arabic personal names عبد الله and عبد الإله which are still in use.

^cbd'lh: Nab

Inscription No.95, Genitive compound. "servant of 'lh'", Masculine

For the first element ^cbd see above under ^cbd and for the second element 'lh' see Cantineau II, p.63. The name (^cbd'lh) is found in Hatra inscriptions (see A. Caquot, Syria 41 (1964), pp.261, 265).

^cbd'lktb: Nab

Inscription No.91, Genitive compound. "Servant of 'lktb'", Masculine.

This name is constructed from a genitive phrase of a noun plus a divine name. The divine name 'lktb corresponds to the Libyanite goddess hn'ktb, "the great scribe", (god or goddess). 'l-kutb is also the Nabataean goddess which is the direct reflection of the Babylonian-Aramaean planetary god Nabū, "mercury", (see J. Strugnell, BASOA156 (1959), pp.30, 37; J. Milik and J. Teixidor, BASOA163 (1961), p.22). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name عبد

الكاتب which is still in use.

bdgn: Aram

Inscription No.5:3, Verbal sentence "The Servant has protected", Masculine.

The second element, gn is related to the Semitic root gnn, "to protect, cover", which is known in Phoenician (see Tombaek, Phoen, p.67), in Biblical Hebrew as גִּן (see BDB p.170; Jastrow p.260, in Syriac as ܓܢ (see Dic. Syr p.50) and in both old Aramaic and Palmyrene (see DISO p.52).

bdw: Nab

Inscription Nos 8, 16, 42, 66:1, 95, Hypocoristicon. "Servant of (Divine name)", Masculine.

This name seems to have been a short form of a theophorous name beginning with the word bd followed by a divine name. The personal name bdw is found in Ugaritic (see Gröndahl, PNU, p.105), in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.102), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.401; Ryckmans, p.155) and in Syriac as ܒܕܐ (see Dic. Syr p.415).

bdmlkw: Nab

Inscription Nos 22, 90:1, Genitive compound. "servant of mlkw", Masculine.

The element mlkw could be either the divine name mlk (see Ryckmans, p.17; BDB p.715) or the noun mlk, "king" (see Cantineau II, p.114). However, the names are found in Phoenician as bdmlk and bdmlkt

(see Phoen PN, p.155), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ^cbdmlk and ^cbdmlkn (see Harding, Index, p.400), in Hatra inscriptions as cbdmlk and ^cbdmlyk (see A. Caquot, Syria 40 (1963), pp.9, 11), in Biblical Hebrew as בְּדַמְלִיכַי (see BDB p.715) and in Syriac as ܒܕܡܠܝܟܐ (see Dic. Syr p.415). The name ^cbdmlkw corresponds to the Arabic personal name عبدملك, which is still common among Arabs.

^cbdnkw: Nab

Inscription No.11, Genitive compound. "Servant of nkw", Masculine.

The second element may be related to the personal name nkw which in Biblical Hebrew is the name of King of Egypt (see BDB p.647). Alternatively (though this is unlikely) it may be derived from the Semitic root which occurs in (Aramised) Biblical Hebrew as נָכַד, "smite, harm", (see BDB p.644) and in Syriac as ܢܚܕ (see Dic. Syr p.204). In this case, it would be a verbal sentence with the perfect, meaning "the servant has stricken".

^cbd ^cbd: Nab

Inscription Nos 7, 70, Genitive compound. "Servant of ^cbd", Masculine.

The name is compounded of ^cbd, "servant", and ^cbd which is the equivalent of the Greek Obodas a Nabataean king who became a god who seems to have been popular among the Southern Nabataeans, as is clear from the frequent occurrence of the name, "servant of Obodas" (see Littmann, Nab, p.40; Cooke, NSI, p.244). As Cooke, NSI, p.224 has explained this type of names "the origin of these names may have been due to the deification of kings after death".

^cbydw: Nab

Inscription No.7, Hypocoristicon. "Little servant of (Divine name)", Masculine.

The name is the diminutive of the Semitic noun ^cbd, "servant", (see above under ^cbd). The name ^cbyd occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.404; Ryckmans, p.156) and

corresponds to the Arabic personal names عَيْدَة and عَيْدَة (see *Lisān* 3, p.279).

^cbynw: Nab

Inscription No.79, One-word name. "Little strong one", Masculine

A similar name appears in Palmyrene as ^cbny (see Stark, PNP, p.103) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ^cbn and ^cbyn (see Harding, Index, pp.404-403; Littmann, Semitic, p.128; Ryckmansi, p.307).

This name is a qutayl form, diminutive of the Arabic عَيْنٌ , "strong, fine man, tall and strong", (see *Lisān* 13, pp.275-276). The name corresponds to the Arabic عِيَان .

^cbnw: Nab,

Inscription No.30, One-word name. "strong", Masculine, (see above under ^cbynw)

^cdwn: Nab

Inscription No.81, One-word name. "Enemy?", Masculine.

The name may be related to the name of the tribe of ^cdwn in Belega (see JSII, p.512). As suggested by Ryckmansi, p.157, it could be related to the Arabic عَدُوَان , "hostile act". It may, however, be derived from the same root as the Syriac verb ܥܕܝܢܐ , "to delight", (see Dic. Syr p.245) which is also found in Biblical Hebrew as ִיעֵץ (see BDB p.726) in which case it would mean "delight, happy". The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name عَدُوَان , عَدِي and عَدِي (see *Lisān* 15, p.43).

^cdmw: Nab

Inscription No.24, One-word name, Masculine.

The name is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ^cdm, supposedly meaning "poor, destitute", (see Harding, Index, p.410). The name may be related to عَدَم a valley situated in the middle of

South Arabian peninsula (see Lisān 12, pp.393-394; Yāqūt 4, p.89).

ᶚwbd': Nab

Inscription No.52, Hypocoristicon. "Servant of (Divine name)", Masculine.

It is hard to explain this personal name. However, it may be a shortened form of the name ᶚbd and (Divine name). A related name occurs in Biblical Hebrew as בְּדָן (see BDB p.714).

ᶚydw: Nab

Inscription Nos 405, 58:1, 96, One-word name. "Born at the festival?", Masculine.

This name appears in other Nabataean inscriptions as ᶚyd (see JS160) and ᶚyydw (see CISi 614:1, 636:1). It is also found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.450).

The best explanation is that this name is related to the noun ᶚyd, "festival, feast", which is known in Syriac as ܕܝܢܐ (see Dic. Syr p.247) and in classical Arabic as عيد (see Lisān 3, p.319). The suggestion by Cantineau II, p.129, that the name ᶚydw is related to the Arabic عائد "who seeks refuge", seems less likely. However, the name ᶚydw corresponds to the Arabic personal name عيد, which is current today among Arabs.

ᶚyrw: Nab

Inscription No.50:1, One-word name, Masculine.

יָרֵךְ as a personal name occurs in Biblical Hebrew (see BDB p.747).

The name is probably related to Biblical Hebrew יָרֵךְ "male, young and vigorous", (see BDB p.747). The noun ᶚyr/ᶚr, "goat", is attested in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.455). It may also be connected with the Syriac ܕܝܢܐ, "angel", (see Dic. Syr p.249).

ᶚytw: Nab

Inscription No.56:2, One-word name. "Helper", Masculine.

^cwt'lhy as a name appears in other Nabataean inscriptions (see Cantineau II, p.90; Khraysheh, PNN, p.137). The name is also found in other Semitic languages: in Palmyrene as ^cwtn (see Stark, PNP, p.105) and ^cwt (see Cooke, NSI, 143:2) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ^cwt (see Harding, Index, p.447). This name, corresponds to the Arabic personal name غَيْثٌ (see above under y^ctw).

^clymnnt: Aram

Inscription No.6:1, Nominal sentens. "mnt is high", Feminine.

The name is formed from an adjective and a divine name. The first element is ^cly "to be high". The second element mnnt is most likely a form of the name of the Arab goddess مَنَاة mentioned in the Qurʾān 53:20 and found also in Nabataean (see Cantineau II, p.116).

^cmhmw: Nab

Inscription No.63:1, Uncertain, Masculine.

This name, which occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ^cmhm (see Harding, Index, p.442) may be associated with the Qatabanite moon-god, the equivalent of the Amorite deity ^camman (see al-Anṣary, *Lih*, pp.67, 74). In this case, the name, would be a divine name used as personal name.

^cmmt: Nab

Inscription No.80, One-word name. "Perfect", Masculine.

Similar personal names are found in Phoenician as ^cm and ^cm' (see Phoen PN, p.172), in Palmyrene as ^cmt (see Stark, PNP, p.106) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ^cmmt (see Harding, Index, p.441).

The name may be related to the Arabic عَمَم, "perfect, complete", (see Lisān 12, p.426; Stark, PNP, p.106; Harding, Index, p.441). The name ^cmmt (the feminine ending -at on masculine names is quite frequent in Arabic) may be compared with the feminine Arabic name

عَمِي (see Lisān 12, p.428).

mrw: Nab

Inscription No.20, One-word name. "He lived", Masculine

This personal name is found in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, pp.45, 106), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as mr (see Harding, Index, p.436; Ryckmansi, p.167), in Biblical Hebrew as מְרַ (see BDB p.771) and in Syriac as ܡܪܝܬܐ (see Dic. Syr p.415). The names mr and mrw are also found in Arabic and are still in use. (see above under mr).

mrn: Aram, Inscription No.10:1, One-word name, Masculine.

The name appears in Phoenician (see Phoen PN, p.173), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Ryckmansi, p.167; Harding, Index, p.438), in Nabataean as mrw (see Cantineau II, p.133) and in Biblical Hebrew as מְרַ (see BDB p.771; Jastrow p.1091). The name mm corresponds to the Arabic personal name عَمْرَان which is still in use among Arabs (see above under mr). The suffix -an usually expresses adjectivally the result of an action: Arabic sakara, "get drunk", sakrān (سكران), "drunk", intoxicated" (see Brockelmann, GVG, p.392; Stark, PNP, p.105).

nmw: Nab

Inscriptions No.85, 92, One-word name. "One who gains booty", Masculine.

The name is found in Palmyrene (see Littmann, Semitic, 6:1, Stark, PNP, pp.45, 106) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as nm (see Harding, Index, p.458; Ryckmansi, p.175; and for more parallels). nmw corresponds to the Arabic personal names غَنِيم and غَانِم .

The name is related to the Semitic root which occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as nm, "take as booty", and the noun nm, "booty", (see Biella, OSA, p.396). In classical Arabic it is known as غَنَم, "win and gain something", and the noun غَنِيْمَة (see Lisān 12, p.445). Stark, PNP, p.106 reports that "ganim implies a good

quality in the language of the Bedouins".

ʿrqn: Nab

Inscription No.62, Uncertain, Masculine.

ʿrq and ʿrqn are personal names found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.416) and in Phoenician as ʿrq (see Phoen PN, p.174).

The name may be connected to the ancient Phoenician clan ʿrqr in South Lebanon in an area now called Telcarqa (see Cooke, NSI, p.89). The ʿrqn is known as a place-name belonging to a clan (see Ryckmansi, p.359; JSII, pp.284, 316). ذات عرق and العرق are also found as a place-names (see Yāqūt 4, pp.107-108).

pʾrn: Nab

Inscription No.24, One-word name, Masculine.

The name could be related to either the tribe of فاران (see CISi p.373) or to فاران, a Hebrew word used as a name for Makkah according to Yāqūt 4, p.225; it is also mentioned in Biblical Hebrew as פֶּרֶן , the home of Ishmael (see BDB p.803), derived from the Biblical Hebrew פָּרַץ , "beautify, glorify", (see BDB p.802).

phrw: Nab

Inscription Nos 51:1, 81, One-word name. "stone", Masculine.

A similar name occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as phr (see Harding, Index, p.473; Ryckmansi, p.177).

The best explanation to this name is that it is related to the Arabic فِهْر, "stone", (see Lisān 5, p.66). It may be compared with the Arabic personal name فِهْر (see Lisān 5, p.66).

pwmw: Aram

Inscription No.1:1, Unexplained, Masculine.

pybyrw: Nab

Inscription No.93, Unexplained, Masculine.

plw: Nab

Inscription No.76, Uncertain, Masculine.

Similar names appear in Palmyrene as pyl' which supposedly means "elephant, ivory" (see Stark, PNP, p.108), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as plw and pl' (see Harding, Index, pp.470, 472) and in Biblical Hebrew as פֶּלֶא (see BDB p.811).

The best explanation is that it may be related to the Arabic singular noun الفلاة, plural الفلأ, "deserts", (see Yāqūt 4, p.270). However, Harding, Index, p.470, suggests that it may be related to the classical Arabic فَلَّ, "to journey". The suggestion given by Stark, PNP, p.108 that it is related to the Aramaic pīlā', "elephant, ivory", seems less likely.

pmsps: Nab

Inscription No.69, Greek name, Masculine.

psgwšhrw: Aram

Inscription Nos11:2:8, Nominal sentence with adjectival predicate. "psgwis pure", Masculine.

The name is a compound of psgw and šhrw. The first element may be a divine name. The second element is an adjective which corresponds to the Biblical Hebrew טָהוֹר, "clean, pure" (see BDB p.373). It is also found in Arabic as طَاهِر, "clean", (see Lisān 4, p.504). However, the first element is attested as a personal name in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.109) and also in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as psg (see Ryckmans, p.180).

ptḥt: Nab

Inscription No.82, Uncertain, Feminine

Similar masculine personal names are found in Phoenician as ptḥ' (see Phoen PN, p.177), in Ugaritic as yptḥ (see Gordon, UT, p.471), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ptḥt and yptḥ'l (see Harding, Index, p.461; Ryckmans, p.245) and in Biblical Hebrew as יְהוֹחָנָן (see BDB p.836).

The name may be related to the Semitic root ptḥ, "to open". This verb occurs in most Semitic languages, including Phoenician (see Gordon, UH, p.264), Old Aramaic (see Brauner, CLOA, p.502; DISO pp.238-239), in both Biblical Hebrew (פתח) and Biblical Aramaic (ܦܬܚ) (see BDB pp.834, 1109) and in Syriac as ܦܬܚ (see Dic. Syr. p.296). In this case, it would be a one-word name meaning "she opened", though it could be a short form of the theophorous ptḥ'1, in which case it would be a hypocoristic meaning "(Divine name) has opened".

Alternatively it may be related to the craftsman deity "ptah", Canaanite kṣr (see Phoen PN, p.396). الفتاح is one of God's names (see Lisān 2, p.539). In this case it would be a divine name used as personal name. The name ptht corresponds to the Arabic feminine personal name فتحية and the masculine فتح الله.

ṣwhlw: Nab

Inscription No.84:2, One-word name, Masculine.

A related name is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ṣhl (see Harding Index, p.378) ṣwhlw (though it is difficult to explain the second w) is derived from the same root ṣhl, "neigh, glow", which occurs in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.473), in Biblical Hebrew as שָׁחַל (see BDB p.843); Jastrow p.1264), in Syriac ܫܠܗ (see Dic. Syr p.299) and in classical Arabic as صَهْل (see Lisān 11, p.387), meaning is uncertain.

ṣydw: Nab

Inscription No.39:1, One-word name. "Hunter", Masculine.

A similar name appears in Palmyrene as ṣyd' (see Cooke, NSI, 137:2) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as ṣyd (see Harding, Index, p.379; Ryckmans, and for parallels p.183). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name صائد (see Cooke, NSI, p.256).

The name is a derivative from the Semitic root ṣyd, "to hunt", which

occurs in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.473; and for parallels), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Biella, OSA, p.421; Dic. Sab. p.146), in Biblical Hebrew as **צַדִּיק** (see BDB p.844; Jastrow p.1265) and in Syriac as **ܕܢܝܩ** (see Dic. Syr p.301). It is also found in classical Arabic as **صَاد**, the noun **صَيَّاد**, "hunter". (see Lisān 3, pp.260, 262). The ending w is common in Nabataean personal names.

ṣ^c bw: Nab

Inscription No.52:1, One-word name. "Difficult", Masculine

ṣ^c b as a personal name is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.372). It corresponds to the Arabic personal names **صَغْب**, **صَغِيب**, **مُصَغِب**, **صَغَبَة** and **صُغَيْبَة** which are formed from the root, **صَغِب**, "to be hard, difficult", (see Lisān 1, p.523).

qymw: Nab

Inscription No.2, One-word name. "Ruler", Masculine.

This is related to the Arabic name **قَيِّم** interpreted as the noun "supreme, ruler", derived from the root **قَوِم**. The name is found in Syriac as the feminine qymy (see al-Jadir p.400), in Palmyrene as qymw supposedly "valuable" (see Stark, PNP, p.110), in Hatra inscriptions as qymy (see A. Caquot, Syria 30 (1953), p.240) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as qym, (see Ryckmans, p.189; Harding, Index, p.492).

qymt: Nab

Inscription No.73:1 One-word name. "Ruler", Masculine.

The t at the end of this name does not mean that it is feminine, such as the masculine personal name (with the feminine ending) **خليفة**. The name occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.492). See above under qymw.

qyṣw: Nab

Inscription No.31, Divine name used as personal name, Masculine.

This name appears in Palmyrene as qys' supposedly meaning "tree, wood", (see Stark, PNP, p.110) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as qys (see Harding, Index, p.492). The name may be related (though Harding, Index, p.492 suggests that this name is related to qiys, "measure", which seems less likely) to the Edomite-god gys' (see al-Anṣary, *Lih*, p.76) which is also found in Nabataean (see Cantineau II, p.143). It corresponds to the Arabic personal name قَيْسُ عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ, إِمْرُ الْقَيْسِ (see *Lisān* 6, p.187).

qrhh: Nab

Inscription No.39:2, One-word name. "Bald?", Masculine.

The name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions as qrhw (see Cantineau II, p.144; Khraysheh, PNP, p.162). It is also found in Biblical Hebrew as קִרְחָ (see BDB p.901) and קִרְחָ (see BDB p.901; Jastrow p.1415) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as qrh (see Harding, Index, p.479; JS, Tham, 617).

The name could be related to the Syriac ܩܪܗ "bald", formed from the root ܩܪܐ, "to become bald", (see Dic. Syr p.330). Though also the name may be associated with the classical Arabic قَرَح, "the first three nights of a month", (see *Lisān* 2, pp.557, 562). In this case, it would mean "the who borns in the first three nights of a month". Alternatively, as suggested by Ryckmansi, p.194, it may be related to قَرَّاح, "pure, clean", which therefore, would mean "pure". It may also have a connection with the place-name قَرَح in Arabia (see *Yāqūt* 4, p.320).

rbwb: Nab

Inscription No.77, One-word name. "Great?", Masculine.

The names rb and rb'l are found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.263; Ryckmansi, pp.195-196, and for parallels). rb'l as a name occurs in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.111; Littmann, *Semitic*, 5:4) rb' in Hatra inscriptions (see A. Caquot, *Syria* 41 (1964), p.254). rbbt in old Aramaic (see Maraqtēn, *SPRIV*, pp.160).

It is also attested in both post-Biblical time as $\text{X} \overline{\text{צ}} \overline{\text{ב}} \overline{\text{ר}}$ (see Jastrow p.1439) and in Syriac as rb̄y (see al-Jadir p.402).

The more acceptable is the explanation which associates the name with the Semitic rb which is also used in theophorous names as an adjective. rb̄ybw could be the diminutive of rb meaning "little great". This appears in Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, p.300), in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UH, p.299; and for more parallels see Gordon, UT, p.482), in Syriac as ܪܒܝܬ (see Dic. Syrp. 334), in Biblical Hebrew as רַבִּי (see BDB p.912) and in old Aramaic (see Brauner, CLOA, p.533).

rhym: Nab

Inscription No.60, One-word name. "Compassionate", Masculine

This is the passive participle of the Semitic root rh̄m, "to be kind, compassionate, merciful". The verb occurs in most Semitic languages, including Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.483; Gordon, UH, p.270), Old Aramaic (see DISO p.277 and for parallels), pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Biella, OSA, p.485; Dic. Sab p.116), Nabataean (see Cantineau II, p.146) in Biblical Hebrew as רַחֵם (see BDB p.933; Jastrow p.1467), in Syriac as ܪܚܡ (see Dic. Syr p.343; Healey, FSS, p.182) and in classical Arabic as رَحِمَ (see Lisān 12, pp.230-233) rh̄m is a divine name known among the Palmyrenes (see Ryckmansi, p.31). rh̄my is also a feminine divine name known in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.483).

The name is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as rh̄m (see Harding, Index, p.273; Kornfeld, OAA, p.71; Ryckmansi, p.199), in Biblical Hebrew as רַחֵם and רַחֲמֵי (see BDB p.933) and it corresponds to the Arabic names رَحِيم and مَرْحُوم .

rmy: Nab

Inscription No.17, One-word name "Archer, slinger", Masculine

This personal name appears in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.288), in Syriac (see al-Jadir p.404) and in Palmyrene

(see Stark, PNP, p.112). It corresponds to the Arabic personal name رَامِي, feminine رَامِيَّة n .

The best interpretation is that this personal name is a derivative from the Semitic root rm', "throw, cast", known in Biblical Hebrew as רָמַץ and Biblical Aramaic as ܪܡܝܬ (see BDB pp.941, 1113), in Syriac as ܪܡܝܬ (see Dic. Syr p.347) and in classical Arabic as رَمَى (see Lisan 14, p.335). Alternatively, as suggested by Cantineau II, p.146; and Stark, PNP, p.112, the name may be derived from the Syriac root ܪܡܠ, "to be high, exalted", in which case it would be a hypocoristic, meaning "(Divine name) is exalted", but it seems that this is less likely.

rqw: Nab

Inscription No.76:1, One-word name. "Gentle", Masculine.

The most acceptable explanation is that this name, which is related to the Arabic رَقَّة, "delicacy", and the Arabic رَقِيق, "delicate", is formed from the verb رَقَّ, رَقِيَ, "to be delicate, gentle", (see Lisān 10, pp.121-122).

šbytw: Nab

Inscription No.48, One-word name, Masculine.

The name is the diminutive qutayl form of the Arabic root شَبَّ, "to grow", (see Lisān 1, p.480) and corresponds to the Arabic personal name مَشَبَّب which is in use today among Arabs.

A similar name is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as šbb, šbt and šb (see Harding, Index, p.337; Ryckmans, pp.204-205 and for parallels) and in Palmyrene as šb' (see Stark, PNP, p.113).

šg' n: Aram

Inscription No.5:2, One-word name. "Courageous", Masculine.

A related name is found in Palmyrene as šg' w (see Stark, PNP, p.113), in Nabataean (see Cantineau II, p.149) and in pre-Islamic

Arabian inscriptions as šg^c and šg^c t (see Harding, Index, p.341; Ryckmans, pp.205, 401). The name maybe related to the Arabic شَجَاع, "courageous", (see Lisān 8, p.173).

swdt: Nab

Inscription No.52:1, One-word name. "Leader", Masculine.

The name is related to the classical Arabic يَسُودُ "be leader, head", (see Lisān 3, pp.228-231). It is also found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as swd, "be chief", (see Biella, OSA, p.329).

The name occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions as swd (see JS344i Cantineau II, p.149) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as swdt and swd (see Harding, Index, pp.334-335). It may be compared with the Arabic personal names سَوْدُ and سَوَادُ (see Lisān 3, p.231).

šy^c: Aram

Inscription No.3:1, One-word name. "Follower", Masculine

A related personal name is found in Palmyrene as šy^cn (see Stark, PNP, p.114), and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as šy^c and šy^cn (see Harding, Index, p.364; Ryckmans, p.208). The name (which could be hypocoristic is related to the Arabic شَيْعَةُ شَيْع "follower, group", (see Lisān 8, pp.188-189).

šy^c 'lhy: Nab

Inscription Nos 26:2, 46:1, Genitive compound. "Follower of 'lhy", Masculine.

šy^c is found together with other elements, such as 'lqwm, 'lh, 'lhy. šy^c 'lqwm is a Nabataean and Palmyrene diety (see Ryckmans, p.34). For the first element see above under šy^c.

šly: Nab

Inscription Nos 7, 25, 41, 42, Uncertain, Masculine.

This name may be a direct abbreviation of the form Sullaim or it may have originally been Shalli (see Littmann, Nab, p.39). However, السُلَيْ

in classical Arabic means "placenta", (see Lisān 14, p.396), and الشَّل also mean "the remnants of a partly eaten animal" (see Lisān 14, p.442). سَلَى is also attested as a place-name (see Yāqūt 3, p.231).

šlymw: Nab

Inscription No.21, One-word name. "safe", Masculine.

This name šlymw represents the passive participle (qatil form) of the Semitic root šlm, "to be safe, complete", which is known in Arabic as سَلِمَ (see Lisān 12, pp.289-296). it is found in Old Aramaic (see DĪSO p.303; and for more reference), in Biblical Hebrew as שָׁלֵם (see BDB p.1022; Jastrow p.1585) and in Syriac as ܫܠܡ (see Dic. Syr p.370). The name may be compared with the Arabic personal names سَلِيم and سَلَامَة (see Lisān 12, pp.299-300).

šlmy: Nab

Inscription No.36, Hypocoristicon. "Seftey given by (Divine Name)", Masculine.

The name ending represents the hypocoristic ending. It is the passive participle of the verb šlm, "to be safe", (see above under šlymn).

šlmn: Nab

Inscription No.26, One-word name. "Complete. safe", Masculine.

The name appears in Ugaritic (see Gröndahl, PNU, p.193), in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.114; Cooke, NSI, 137:1), in old Aramaic (see Maraqtēn, SPRIV, pp.103, 219), in Hatra inscriptions (see A. Caquot, Syria 41 (1964), p.257) in pre-Islamic Arabian inscription (see Harding, Index, p.356; Ryckmans, p.209), in Biblical Hebrew as שָׁלֵם (see BDB p.1025) and in Syriac as ܫܠܡܐ (see Dic. Syr p.419). It corresponds to the Arabic personal names سَلْمَان سَلِيمَان and سَلْمَان سَلِيمَان (see Lisān 12, p.300).

The name šlmn is to be derived from the root šlm. Arabic سَلِمَ, "to be complete, safe". Although the form šlmn may be considered a divine name used also as a personal name (see Huffmon, APNMT,

p.247; Stark, PNP, p.114). (see also above under šlymw).

šlmt: Nab

Inscription No.35, One-word name. "Completeness, safety", Feminine. The name occurs in Phoenician (see Phoen PN, p.180), in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.114), in Syriac (al-Jadir p.409), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.356; Ryckamnsi, p.150), in old Aramaic (šlymt) (see Maraqtēn, SPRIV, p.103), and in Biblical Hebrew as שְׁלֵמָה (see BDB p.1025). The name may be compared with the Arabic feminine personal name سَلْمَة, سَلْمَة and سَلِيمَة (see Lisān 12, p.300). The wife of Abgar Ukāmā of Edessa was named šalmat (see J. Segal, Ant. Stud 3 (1953), p.118).

šm^c t: Nab

Inscription No.71, One-word name. "she has heard", Feminine.

The name is found in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.359; Ryckmans, p.152) and in Biblical Hebrew as שְׁמַעַת (see BDB p.1035). It is the equivalent of the Arabic feminine سَمِيعَة and, masculine, يَسْمَع and سَمِيعَان (see Lisān 8, p.168).

The name is derived from the Semitic root šm^c, "to hear, listen", which occurs in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.492), in Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, pp.323-324), in old Aramaic (see Brauner, CLOA, p.603; DISO pp.309-310; and for parallels). in Biblical Hebrew as שָׁמַע (see BDB p.1033), in Syriac as ܫܡܥܐ (see Dic. Syr p.372; Healey, FSS, p.184) and in classical Arabic as سَمِعَ (see Lisān 8, p.162).

šnypw: Nab

Inscription Nos 32, 54, One-word name, Masculine.

It is hard to determine whether this form represents the diminutive (qutayl) or the passive participle (qetil) of the Arabic شَنْفَ, "rancor", (see Lisān 9, p.183). A related name is found in Ugaritic as šnpt (see

Gordon, UH, p.273).

s^c d'lh'y: Nab

Inscription No.59, Genitive compound "luck from 'lh'y", Masculine

A similar name occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as s^c d'lt (see Ryckmansi, p.240, and for parallels) and as s^c dlt (see Harding, Index, p.319), and in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.115). The name may be compared with the Arabic names سَعْدَة, أَسْعَد, مَسْعُود and سَعْد (see Lisān 3, p.217).

This name is a compound of s^c d, "good luck", and 'lh'y. The first element is known as a noun in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as s^c dt, "good fortune", (see Dic. Sab p.122) and also in classical Arabic as سَعْد (see Lisān 3, p.213). A Syrian bishop is attested by the name šācād (see Stark, PNP, p.115). It is also conceivable the s^c d is the name of a pre-islamic Arabian deity s^c d (see al-Kalby p.37).

s^c dlhy: Nab

Inscription No.87, Genitive compound. "Luck from lh'y" 'lh'", Masculine.

See above under s^c d'lh'y

s^c ydw: Nab

Inscription No.19, One-word name. "He who is lucky, happy?", Masculine.

The name is the form which represents the Aramaic passive participle (qatil) of the Arabic سَعْد "luck" (see above under s^c d'lh'y). The name is frequently used among the Arabs as سَعِيد and سَعِيد (see Lisān 3, p.217). The name occurs in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as s^c yd (see Ryckmansi, p.307; Harding, Index, p.321) and in Palmyrene as s^c ydn (see Stark, PNP, p.115).

šqrw: Nab

Inscription No.68, One-word name "He who has red hair", Masculine.

This name is related to the classical Arabic أَشْقَر, "have red hair", (see Lisān 4, p.421). It may be associated with the place-name الشَّقْرَاء, known in Yammam āh (see Y āqūt 3, p.354). The name may be compared with the Arabic personal names شَقِير , أَشْقَرُ and شَقْرَانُ (see Lisān 4, p.423).

šrmw: Nab

Inscription No.75, One-word name. "He who tears, splits?", Masculine.

A related name is found in Phoenician as šrm (see Phoen PN, p.185), and also in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as šrmt (see Harding, Index, p.347; Ryckmansi, p.213). It may be related to the classical Arabic شَرَمَ, "tear, split", (see Lisān 12, pp.321-322). The name corresponds to the Arabic personal name الشريم .

thynw: Nab

Inscription No.64, One-word name. "Gift, donation", Masculine.

This name thynw may represent the passive participle of تَهَنَّى and تَهْنَى , "to give, donate" (see Lisān 1, p.185). It is perhaps the shortened version of the name thn and a (Divine name) which would be in this case a hypocoristic meaning "gift of (Divine name)".

tym'lh: Nab

Inscription No.74:1, Uncertain, Masculine.

The first element may be (though it is less likely) related to the classical Arabic تَيِّم, "servant", (as suggested by Cooke, NSI, p.228; Ryckmansi, pp.213-214; Cantineau II, p.155; Stark, PNP, p.117). In this case, the name would be a genitive compound, meaning "slave, servant of 'lh'". Alternatively, and more likely, tym may be related to the classical Arabic تَيَّم , "infatuated, enthralled", (see Lisān 12, p.75). In this case the name would be a genitive compound meaning "devocee of 'lh'". The name is to be compared with the

Arabic personal name تَيْمُ اللَّاتِ (see Lisān 12, p.75). The name is also found in Palmyrene as tymlt (see Stark, PNP, p.117), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.141).

tymw: Aram

Inscription No.4B:1, One word name. "Devocee", Masculine.

The name occurs in Palmyrene (see Stark, PNP, p.117), in Nabataean (see Cantineau II, p.155), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.141; Ryckmansi, pp.213-214) and it corresponds to the Arabic personal names تَيْم and تَيْم (see Lisān 12, p.75). (for the discussion of tym root see above under tym'lhy).

tymw: Nab

Inscription Nos 59, 61, 75, 96, One-word name. "Devotee", Masculine.

See above under tym'lhy and tymw

tymn: Aram

Inscriptions No. 6:2, One-word name. "Lover", Masculine

The name is attested in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Harding, Index, p.141; Ryckmansi, p.214) and in Palmyrene as tymn' (see Stark, PNP, p.117). For the discussion of the root of tym. (see above under tym'lhy).

tymny: Nab

Inscription No.8, One-word name. "The one who from Taymā'", Masculine.

The name is probably related to the city of Taymā' تَيْمَاء which means "the large, dangerous spot" (see Lisān 12, p.75), situated in the NW of Saudi Arabia. The name is to be compared with the Arabic family name التيماني which still used. A related name is also found in other Nabataean inscriptions as tmny, "a woman from Taymā'", (see Littmann, Nab, 81:1).

twts: Nab, Inscription No.56:3, Greek name, Masculine.

ܗܣܗ: Aram

Inscription No.2:1, One-word name "Has sent?", Feminine.

The name is the third person singular imperfect (pecal form) of the old Aramaic root ܗܣܗ, "send", (see DISO p.300; Brauner, CLOA, p.594). This is found in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.490), in Phoenician (see Tombaek, Phoen, p.317), in Syriac as ܗܣܗ (see Dic. Syr p.369) and in Biblical Hebrew as ܗܣܗ (see BDB p.1018). As a personal name it occurs in Phoenician as ܗܣܗ (masculine) (see Phoen PN, p.180) and in Biblical Hebrew as ܗܣܗ (see BDB p.1019).

II. Lexicon of the Nabataean and Aramaic Inscriptions in the Collection

(with place-names)

'b: Aram

Inscription No.3:3, "Ab". Noun singular.

'b is the name of a month common to most Semitic languages. In Syriac, it occurs as ܒ (see Dic. Syr. p.1) and in Nabataean as 'ab (see Cantineau II, p.55). The approximate equivalent is August (see Healey, FSS, p.76).

'hw: Nab

Inscription No.6, place-name.

A similar place-name is situated near al-Bāṣrā (see Yāqūt I, p. 118).

'hrth: Aram

Inscription No.1:3, "Posterity". Noun, feminine, singular construct.

'y: Nab

Inscription No.94:1, "courage, cheer up, woe" Interjection

An impassioned expression of encouragement or of grief and despair. It is found in Biblical Hebrew as ַיַּח (see BDB p.17), in Targumic Aramaic as ַח (see Jastrow p.43) and in Syriac as ܐܝܚܐ (see Dic. Syr p.7).

'l: Nab

Inscription Nos 52:2, 71, "definite article".

This particle is known in Arabic as. It appears preceding a proper noun.

'lhy: Aram

Inscription No.11:7, "god".Noun, masculine, plural. construct.

The term appears frequently in Aramaic inscriptions. It also occurs in

most Semitic languages.

'lht: Aram

Inscription No.1:2, "goddess".Noun, feminine, singular. construct.

The term 'lht is found frequently in Aramaic inscriptions. It is in addition well-known in most Semitic languages.

'lht': Aram

Inscription No.1:2,"goddesses".Noun, masculine, plural, emphatic state. (see above under 'lhy)

'qgyr':Nab

Inscription No.56:4, "actor publicus, officer". Noun, masculine, singular. emphatic.

It may be derived from the noun 𐤒𐤓𐤌𐤕, "actor publicus, an officer who had the supervision of slaves and state property", in Jewish Aramaic (see Jastrow p.112).

'rhhb': Aram

Inscription No.11:4, place name.

A related name known as رَحَب which is a place situated in the South of Arabia. In classical Arabic, رَحَب means "large"(see Yāqūt1, p.144).

'šym': Aram

Inscription No.11:7. Divine name.

'šym' is known as one of the Syrian gods. He is referred to as the deity of Ḥamath in the eighth century BC in the Old Testament (II Kings 17:30): "The men of Babylon had made a Succothenothe, the men of Cuthah a Nergal, the men of Ḥamath an Ashima". (For more information see Abu-Duruk, IAT, p.66; A. Livingstone, Atlat 7 (1983), p.109; F. Cross, CBQ48 (1986), p.393; B. Aggoula, Syria 62 (1985), pp.70-71).

b: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 3:1, 24, 37, 46:1,48, 50:2, 69, 73:2, 74:2, "in, with". Preposition, Common Semitic

byt: Aram

Inscription No.11:3, "house, temple". Noun, masculine, singular. construct.

This word is found in all Semitic languages, including pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Biella, OSA, p.41; Dic. Sab p.34), in Nabataean (see Cantineau II, p.7), in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.371), in old Aramaic (see DISO pp.35-36; for parallels), in Phoenicia as bt (see Tomback, phoen, pp.58-59), in Syriac as ܒܬ see Dic. Syr p.29, Healey, FSS, p.161), in both Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic as בֵּית (see BDB pp.108, 1084; for more references) and in classical Arabic as بَيْت (see Lisān 2, p.14).

bly: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 1, 94:1, "truly, indeed". Interjection.

This particle occurs in most of the Semitic languages, such as old Aramaic and Palmyrene as bl (see Levinson, NAI, p.137), in Biblical Hebrew as בְּלֵ (see BDB p.115), in Syriac as ܒܠ (see al-Jadir p.299) and in classical Arabic as بلى .

bnwn: Nab

Inscription No.12, place-name.

It is to be compared with the place-name, بَنَان, belonging to the Arab tribe بنى أسد (see Yāqūtl, p.497).

bny: Aram

Inscription No. 26:1; 94:1, "sons". Noun, masculine, plural. construct-

The noun occurs in other Semitic languages, including Ugaritic as bnm (absolute) (see Gordon, UT, p.373), in Nabataean as bny (see Cantineau II, p.72), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as bnw (see Dic. Sab p.29), in Phoenician as bny (see DISO pp.37-38; and for

parallels), in Syriac as ܨܢܐ (see Dic.Syr p.36), in Biblical Hebrew as ܨܢܐ (absolute) (see BDB pp.119-121) and in old Aramaic as bny (see Brauner, CLOA, p.100).

bny: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 26:1, 94:2, "sons". Noun, masculine, plural. construct
see above under bny

br: Aram

Inscriptions Nos 3:2, 4A:1, 4B:1, 5:3, 9:3, 4, 11:2, "son". Noun, masculine, singular. construct

The term br is found in old and later Aramaic. It is also found in Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, pp.47, 54), in both Biblical Hebrew (restricted to late Hebrew) and Biblical Aramaic as ܒܪ (see BDB pp.135, 1085) and in Syriac as ܒܪܐ (see Dic. Syr p.36).

br: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16,,17, 18:1:2, 19:1, 20, 21, 24, 25, 30, 36, 37, 38, 39:1, 41, 46:2, 49:1, 50:1, 52:1, 56:3, 59, 60, 64, 66:1, 67, 68:1, 69, 70, 72, 75, 76:1, 77, 79, 80, 81, 84:1, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90:2, 91:2, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, "son". Noun, masculine, singular. construct, (see above under br)

brt: Aram

Inscriptions Nos 2:1,6:2 "daughter". Noun, feminine, singular. construct

This term appears in both old and later Aramaic. It also occurs in Ugaritic as bt (see Gordon, UT, p.373), in Biblical Hebrew as ܒܬܐ (see BDB p.123), in Syriac as ܒܬܐ (emphatic) (see Dic. Syr p.37); in classical Arabic as بنت and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as bnt (see Dic. Sab p.29). It is also found (very rare, masculine form) in Akkadian as binu (see Ismacil, p.30).

d b Aram

Inscription No:11:4, place-name.

A place name compare بَيْتُ a place name name situated near al- Baṣra البصرة (see *Yāqūt* 2, p. 436).

dy: Aram

Inscriptions Nos 1:1, 8:1, 9:1, "which, that". Relative pronoun.

A common Semitic particle.

dy: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 6, 12, 38, "which, that", Relative pronoun.

A common Semitic particle.

dkyr: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 3:1, 24, 26:1, 37, 42:1, 47, 48, 58:1, 69, 71, 73:1, 74:1, 78, "remembered". Adjective, passive, participle. masculine.

dkyrn: Nab

Inscription No.57, "remembered". Noun, plural, passive participle. absolute.

dkrwn: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 14, 68, "remembrance". Noun, masculine, singular. absolute.

dnh: Nab

Inscription No.6, "this". Demonstrative pronoun, Common Semitic (for parallels see Moscati, CGSL, p.111)

w: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 26:1, 52:1, 57:2, 94:1, "and", Particle

Extremely frequent in Semitic languages

W: Aram

Inscription No.1:1, "and", Particle. Extremely Frequent in Semitic

Language

zy: Aram

Inscriptions Nos 3:3, 7, 11:4:6:10, "which, of". Relative pronoun.

A common Semitic pronoun

zkr: Nab

Inscription No.80, "remembrance". Noun, masculine, singular. absolute, Common Semitic (see DISOpp. 76-77; BDB p.271)

Znh: Aram

Inscription No.11:5, "this". Demonstrative, pronoun, masculine.

zr^c h

Inscription 11:9. Noun, masculine, singular, construct

hgr': Aram

Inscription No.1:1, "stone". Noun, masculine, singular. emphatic state.

According to DISO p.82 hgr has the meaning of "enclosure". It occurs also in Nabataean inscriptions as hgr' (see Cantineau II, p.94) and in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions as hgr, "stone", (see Biella, OSA, p.167; Dic. Sab p.67). It is also known in classical Arabic as حَجَر (see Lisān 4, p.165).

hyy: Aram

Inscriptions Nos 1:2, 9:5, 8:10, "life". Noun, masculine, plural. construct, Common to Semitic languages

tb: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 3:1, 24,37, 46:1, 48, 50:2, 68:1,69,73:2, 74:2,78,79, "good". Adjective, masculine, singular. absolute, Extremely frequent in graffiti-type inscriptions

Yrh: Aram

Inscription No. 3:3, "Month". Noun, masculine, singular, construct,

Common Semitic

Krss": Aram

Inscription No.11:5, "chair, throne".Noun, masculine, singular. emphatic state

This noun is attested in both Biblical Hebrew, כִּסֵּי and Biblical Aramaic ܟܝܫܝܐ (see BDB pp.490, 1097), in Syriac as ܟܝܫܝܐ (see BDB p.490) and in classical Arabic as كُرْسِيّ (see Lisān 6, p.194).

ktb: Nab

Inscription No.96, "he wrote".Third person, masculine, singular. perfect.

The verb is found in most languages, including Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, p.150), Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.424), old Aramaic (see DISO pp.128-129; Brauner, CLOA, p.294), Biblical Hebrew as כָּתַב and Biblical Aramaic as ܟܬܒ (see BDB pp.507, 1098), Syriac as ܟܬܒ (see Dic. Syr p.164; Healey, FSS, p.170) and in classical Arabic as كَتَبَ .

l: Aram

Inscriptions Nos 1:1, 11:6:8, "for, to". Particle, before nouns and pronouns, Common Semitic

l: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 14, 50:2, 52:1, 56:5, 79, "for, to"Particle, before nouns and pronouns.

Common Semitic

lbn: Nab

Inscription No.38, place-name

There are three places called lbn situated in the Arabian peninsula: (a) "لبن" a mountain, situated in Tahāmā, in the South West of the peninsula; (b) "لبن", a tract of land situated in al-Yammāmā; (g) "لبن" a plateau belonging to عمرو بن كلاب (see Yāqūt 5, pp.11-12).

Layn: Aram

Inscription No: 11:3. Name of a Kingdom in Arabia

mgmr: Nab

Inscription No.91:1, "totality, achievement". Noun, masculine, singular. construct mgmr is derived from the Semitic verb gmr, "to complete, perfect", which occurs in Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, p.66), in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.380), in old Aramaic (see DISO p.51), in Syriac as ܡܓܡܪ (see Dic. Syr p.50) and in both Biblical Hebrew as מַגְמֵר and Biblical Aramaic as ܡܓܡܪ (see BDB pp.170, 1086).

mhm': Aram

Inscriptions Nos 8:1, 9:1, "incense altar". Noun, feminine, singular. emphatic state.

This noun may be related to the Arabic noun حارير "incense altar". In the South of Saudi Arabia today people still use the word حرن to indicate the special place for lighting fires.

mytb: Aram

Inscription No.11:6, "seat, pedestal". Noun, masculine, singular. construct.

The noun occurs in other Aramaic texts found in this area as mytb (see CISi 114:1; Cooke, NSI, 70:1; and for parallels see pp.199, 222). In Nabataean it occurs as mwtb (see Cantineau II, pp.112-113), (see for more references DISO p.169).

mlk: Aram

Inscription No.11:3, "king". Noun, masculine, singular. construct.

The noun mlk (which is a common Semitic) is derived from the common Semitic root mlk, "torule", (see DISO pp.153-154 for more discussion).

mn: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 12,38, "from". Common Semitic (except Ugaritic and Akkadian)

mnwh: Aram

Inscription No. 1:2, divine name.

mnwh is an ancient pre-Islamic Arabian deity worshipped by the Arabs and mentioned in the Qur'ān 53:20. The chief centre of the cult of Manat was in Quda'ida a stopping-place on the pilgrim road between Madina and Makkah (see Cooke, NSI, p.219; al-Kalbi pp.13-17; Cantineau II, p.116; Ryckmans, pp.18-19).

ngd': Aram

Inscription No. 4A:2, "officer, leader, chief". Noun, masculine, singular. emphatic state.

The noun occurs in other Semitic languages such as old Aramaic (see DISO p.174), in Biblical Hebrew as נָגִיד (see BDB p.617; and for parallels), in Syriac as ܢܓܝܕܐ (see Dic. Syr. p.196) and in classical Arabic it is found as نَجْدٌ and نَجِيدٌ, meaning "courageous, brave", (see Lisān 3, p.417).

npšI: Aram

Inscriptions Nos 2:1,3; 1,4A:1,4B:1,5:1,10:1, "memorial, monument". Noun, feminine, singular. construct.

The noun is known in most of the Semitic languages, such as in Phoenician (see Tomback, Phoen, p.219), in Ugaritic (see Gordon, UT, p.446), in Nabataean (see Cantineau II, p.121), in Palmyrene (see Cooke, NSI, 146:1), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Dic. Sab p.93), in Syriac as ܢܦܫܐ (see Dic. Syr p.210). npš is frequently used to describe a monument set up over a grave and perhaps conveyed the idea of personality (see Cooke, NSI, p.214).

npšII: Aram

Inscriptions Nos 1:2, 9:6, 11:8, "life, soul". Noun, feminine, singular. construct, Common Semitic.

nšby': Nab

Inscription No.6, "pillars, idols". Noun, masculine, plural. emphatic state.

The noun occurs in most of the Semitic languages as nšb, including old Aramaic (see Brauner, CLOA, p.402), Phoeniciaa (see Tomback, Phoen, p.220), pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions (see Biella, OSA, p.311; Dic. Sab p.99), Biblical Hebrew as נֶשֶׁב (see BDB p.662), Syriac as ܢܫܒ (see al-Jadir p.319), and in classical Arabic as نَصَب (see Lisān 1, pp.759-760).

ntn': Nab

Inscription No.13, "giver". Noun masculine, singular. emphatic state

The noun is derived from the Semitic root ntn, "to give", which is found in most of the Semitic languages, including old Aramaic (see Brauner, CLOA, p.414; DISO p.188), in Nabataean (see Cantineau II, p.123), in both Biblical Hebrew (נָתַן) and Biblical Aramaic (ܢܬܢ) (see BDB pp.678, 1103), in Phoenician, it occurs as ytñ (see Tomback, Phoen, p.132, and for parallels).

ḡm: Aram

Inscription No.1:3, "eternity". Noun, masculine, singular. absolute, Common Semitic (except Akkadian)

ḡm: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 46:2, 50:2, 56:5, 79, "eternity". Noun, masculine, singular. absolute, common Semitic (except Akkadian)

prsy': Nab

Inscription No.94:2, "horsemen". Noun, masculine, plural. emphatic state.

prs' may correspond to the Latin "Equites", a class of Roman citizen which had its origin in the primitive military organization of the Roman state. In the regal period and earlier republican times the wealthiest members of the state served in the cavalry. But under the empire they lost their importance as a political force. (see Harvey, CCL p.168). The noun occurs in old Aramaic and palmyrene as Prs (see DISO p.237), in Syriac (ܩܪܬܐ) (see Dic. Syr p.292), in Biblical Hebrew (פָּרָשׁ) BDB p.832, and for parallels, in Pre-Islamic Arabian inscription as prs (see Dic.Sab p.46) and in classical Arabic as فارس , singular, فُرسان, plural (see Lisān 6, pp.159-161).

sy^c: Nab

Inscription No.89, "the jeweller". Noun, masculine, singular. emphatic state

The noun is to be compared with the Arabic صائغ . "jeweller".

slm: Aram

Inscription No.11:4:6. Divine name

slm is generally connected with Akkad slmu, "black, dark". Kakkabu slmw. "the dark star", an epithet of Saturn-Slm indicated perhaps the sun-god himself, who in Mesopotamia was believed to be a special patron of astrological rites (see Cooke, NSI, p.196; Gibson, TSSI, pp.148, 150; for more discussion and reference see S. Dalley, PSAS15 (1985), pp.27-33; S. Dalley Iraq 48 (1986), pp.85-101).

qbr: Aram

Inscription No.6:1, "grave". Noun, masculine, singular. construct.

Common Semitic

qdm: Aram

Inscription No: 11:5, "in front". Common Sinitic

hqym: Aram

Inscription No.11:2:5, "he set up, caused to stand". Third person,

masculine, singular, perfect Haph. Common Semitic (except Akkadian)

qyn': Nab

Inscription No.50:1, "smith". Noun, masculine, singular. emphatic state

The noun occurs in most Semitic languages, such as Palmyrene (see DISO p.285), in pre-Islamic Arabian inscription as qyn, "the title of an administrative official", (see Dic. Sab. p.112; Biella, OSA, p.454), in Syriac as ܩܝܢܐ (see Dic. Syr p.318), in Biblical Hebrew as קִינָה (see BDB p.883) and in Arabic as قَيْن (see Lisān 13, p.350).

qrb: Aram

Inscriptions Nos 1:1, 8:2, 9:2, "he offered". Third person, masculine, singular, perfect pacal . Common Semitic

šlm: Nab

Inscriptions Nos 1, 2, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19:2, 20, 21, 24, 27, 28, 36, 38, 39:2, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49:2, 50:1, 51:3, 56:1, 59, 60, 61, 62, 67, 68:2, 70, 72, 77, 81, 83:1, 84:1, 85, 87, 88, 90:3, 92, 93, 94:1, "peace, greeting". Noun, masculine, singular. absolute, Common Semitic

šnt: Aram

Inscription No.3:4, "year" Noun, feminine, singular. construct,

Common Semitic

šngl': Aram

Inscription No.11:6. Divine name.

This deity mentioned in the Taymā' stela found in 1879. It is explained by Cooke, NSI, p.198 as "a deity otherwise unknown; possibly the ' is the feminine ending. The name has been compared with that of a Babylonian goddess šgl, mentioned in the lexicon of Bar-Bahlul, and stated to be the chaldaean equivalent of "Aphrodite". Another suggestion is that šngala (sin-gala) is the moon-god (see Gibson,

TSSI, p.150).

Tym'³ : Aram

Inscription: 11:1. A place name situated in NW of Arabia

III. Conclusion

The geographical position of the Arabian Peninsula, situated as it was between the ancient civilizations of India, Persia, the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt, contributed to its becoming an important centre of trade and commerce, and to the emergence of several Arab states along the trading routes of the peninsula. These routes ran from the south to the north and the north east.

Because of its proximity to the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt, the NW of Arabia has from earliest times, enjoyed more historical importance than any other part of the peninsula, save for Yemen and Hadramaut. The ancient archaeological remains found in Taymā', Dumat al-Jandal (al-Jawf), al-ʿulā, Madā'in Ṣāliḥ and Tabūk are evidence of the important role played by this area in the commercial life of the peninsula.

The arrival of Nabonidus (555-539), the last King of the Neo-Babylonian Empire at Taymā' (either because of religious motives or his differences with his son) brought the use of the Aramaic script. The presence of Aramaic inscriptions in Taymā' does not mean that these inscriptions belong to Aramaeans themselves. The Aramaic inscriptions covered in this study were carved by the local citizens of Taymā' or by the Babylonians, who came with Nabonidus. Part of the difficulty in the study of Aramaic lies in the fact that the language is not definitely tied to any one national or ethnic group. Most of the Old Aramaic in our possession was not written by Aramaeans but by peoples of other nations.

All the Aramaic inscriptions mentioned here are undated except for inscription No.3. The best way to establish their date is on the basis of the development of the script. Palaeographically these inscriptions go back to the late fifth or fourth century BC, except for inscription No.11, which can be assigned more definitely to the fifth century BC.

The archaeologically remains recovered from Taymā' (such as the

symbols carved on both steles, 1879, 1979) have Syrian, Mesopotamian, Egyptian and South Arabian influences; the fact that the 1979 Taymā' inscription was engraved by the Liḥyanite king and, also, that an Egyptian priest is mentioned in 1879 Taymā' inscription indicates that society in Taymā' was mixed.

The presence of the Assyrians and other groups needs more investigation which could be achieved only through proper and comprehensive excavations and publications. Then we would be able to register the exact effect on Taymā' after the arrival of the Assyrians. In addition, it would enable us to discover more about the role and importance of Taymā' during the Nabataean period.

The same causes which brought the Assyrians to control NW Arabia by ruling Taymā', also led the Nabataeans to come down to the south, to Madā'in Ṣālih, al-ʿulā' and al-Jawf. It was the trade routes which ran through NW Arabia, and their importance to the Nabataean Kingdom, which brought their domination of the area probably as early as the 1st century BC. The Nabataean presence in the NW of Arabia was perhaps encouraged by the significance of Wadi al-Sirḥān, a large and well-known wadi in north Arabia which has always been the main access route between this region and Syria to the north.

With the exception of inscription No.90 (which is a building inscription) all the graffiti covered in this study are commemorative in content.

Apart from inscription Nos 52 and 77 the inscriptions have no diacritical points. These may have been used to distinguish the r and d on occasions when both letters appeared together in the same inscription. Diacritics began to be used by the Nabataeans at an early date and their use spread widely. The earliest dated Arabic text using the Nabataean script makes use of diacritics.

From the point of view of palaeography, all the inscriptions date back to between the first century and the middle of the fourth century except for inscription No.90, which was most likely written during

the transition period at the beginning of the third century BC (see Conclusion, Nabataean section).

In addition to the fact that the personal names in the Nabataean inscriptions show close connection with Arab types of name, also gods of Arab origin like Allat and Hubal were part of the religious life of the Nabataean. This clearly confirms the fact that the Nabataeans were Arabs by race and language.

The lexicographical material of the inscriptions partakes of the Common Semitic lexicon tradition. Also to be noted is the presence of Greek loan-words in the inscriptions, especially in the fields of administration, military matters and social affairs. This is an indication of the connection with Greek culture especially in the late Nabataean period after the area had been annexed by the Romans.

The most widely depicted figure in the rock-drawings in this period is the Camel, drawn with varying degrees of sophistication, sometimes on a monumental scale. Another common figure is the ibex. Human figures are often shown in "stick" style with little detail, but animated and armed with bows and spears. Other common motifs are maze designs (geometrical shapes).

SECTION FIVE

I. Plates of Aramaic Inscriptions
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	B. Inscription No.	8
VI:	A. Inscription No.	9
	B. Inscription No.	10
VII:	Inscription No.	11



A. Inscription no. 1



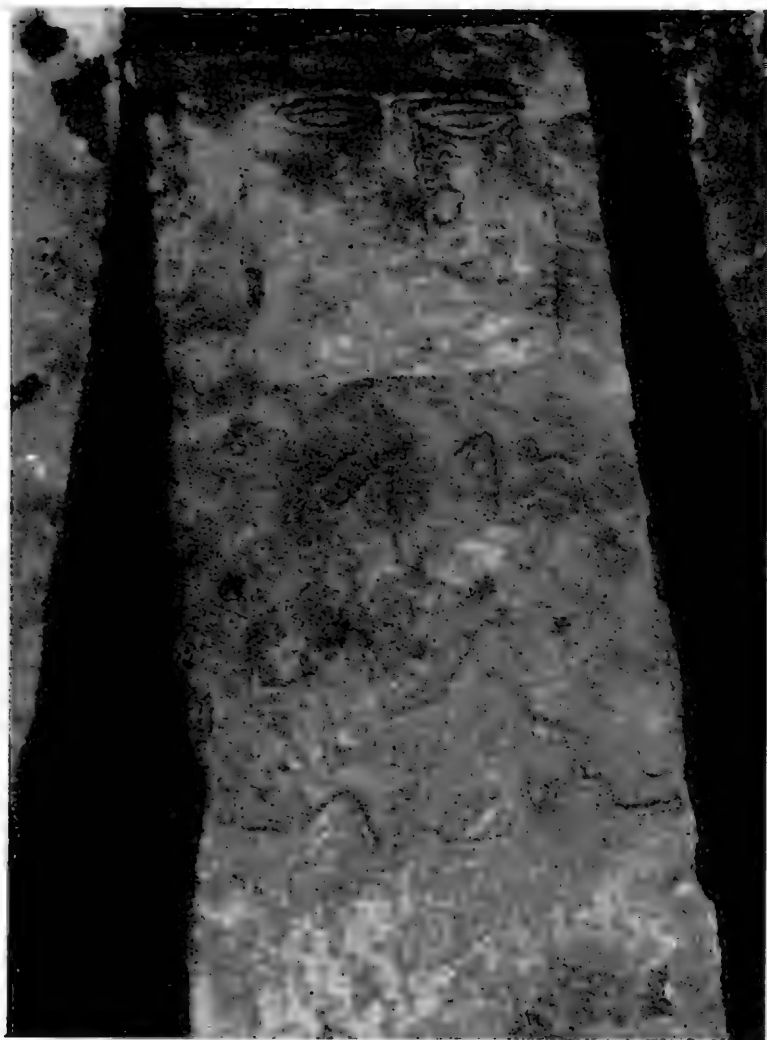
B. Inscription no. 2



A. Inscription No. 3



B. Inscription Nos. 4A and 4B



Inscription No. 5



Inscription No.6



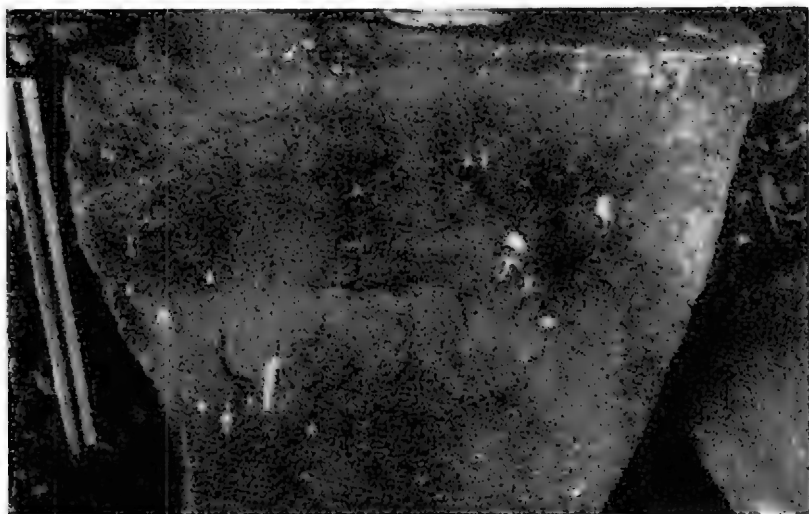
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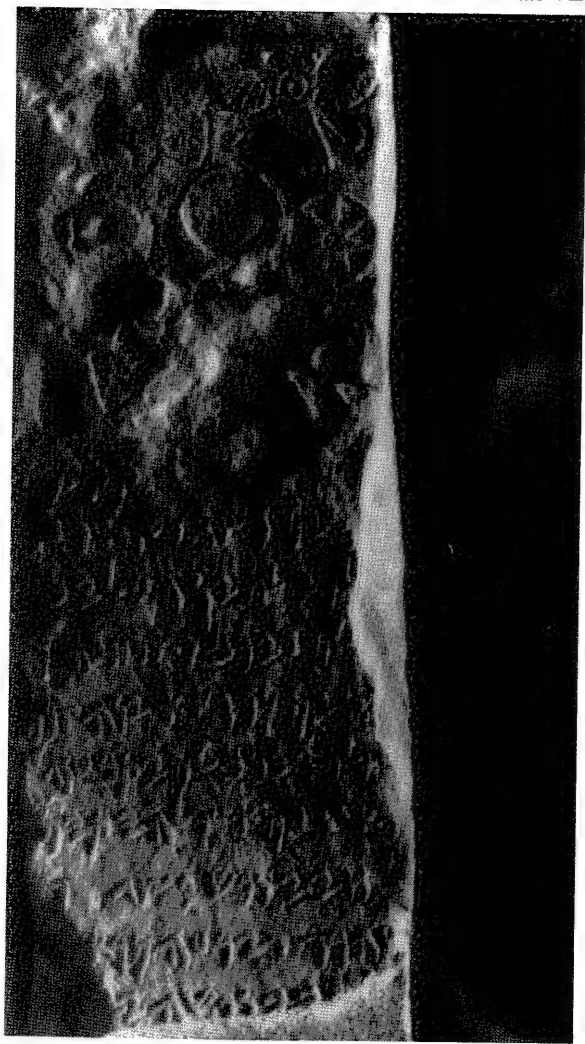
B. Inscription No. 8



A. Inscription No. 9



B. Inscription No. 10

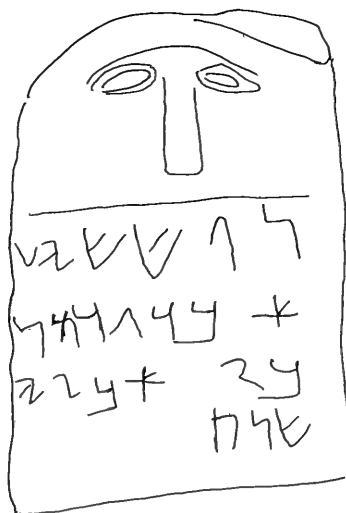


Inscription No. 11

II. Figures of Aramaic Inscriptions

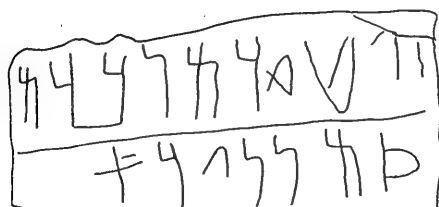
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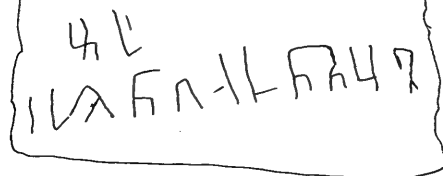


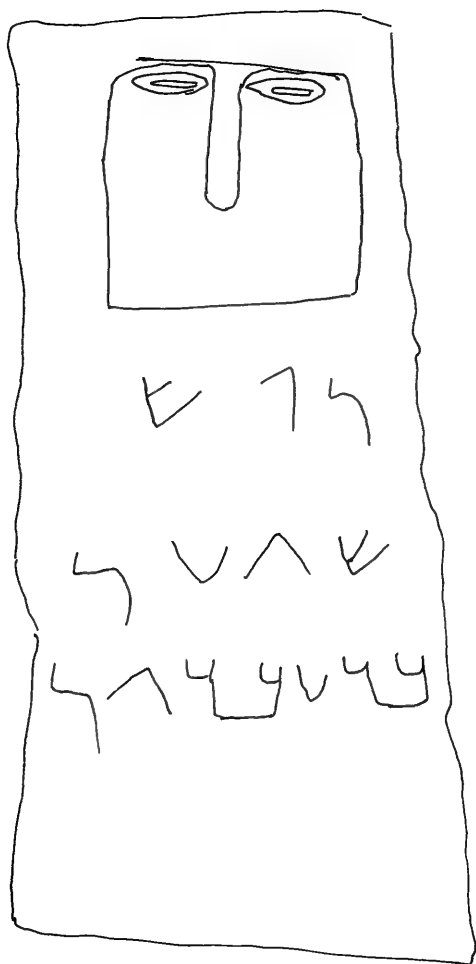
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(4-A)



(4-B)



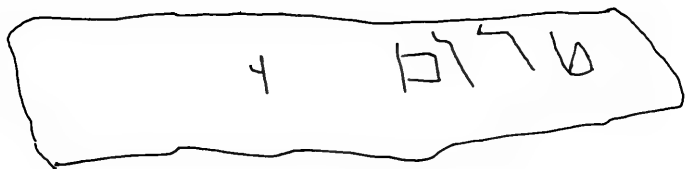


(5)



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ገንዘብ ክፍል

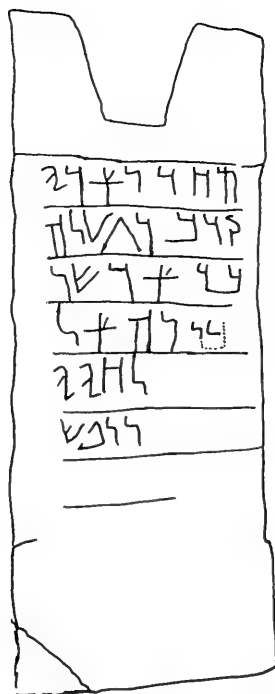
(6)



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(8)



(9)



(10)

III. Plates of Nabataean Inscriptions

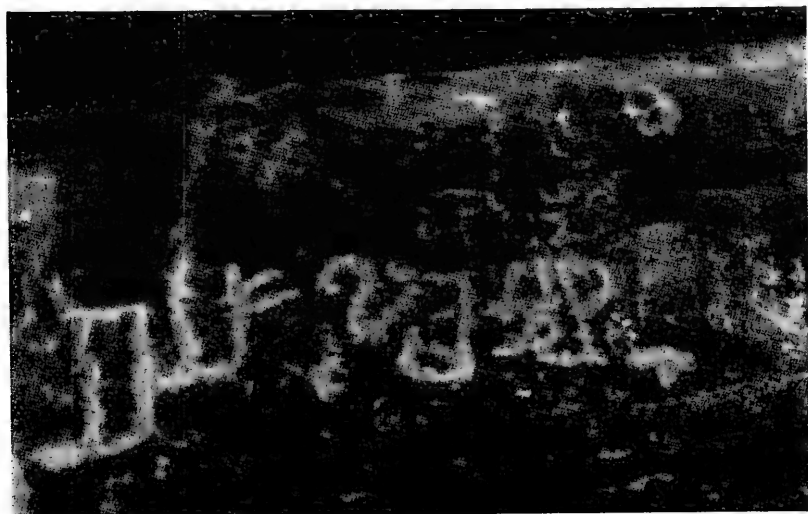
List of Plates

I:	A. Inscription No.	1
	B. Inscription No.	2
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	B. Inscription Nos	5 and 6
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	B. Inscription No.	8
IV:	A. Inscription No.	9
	B. Inscription No.	10
V:	A. Inscription No.	11
	B. Inscription No.	12
VI:	A. Inscription No.	13
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VII:	A. Inscription No.	15
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A. Inscription No. 1



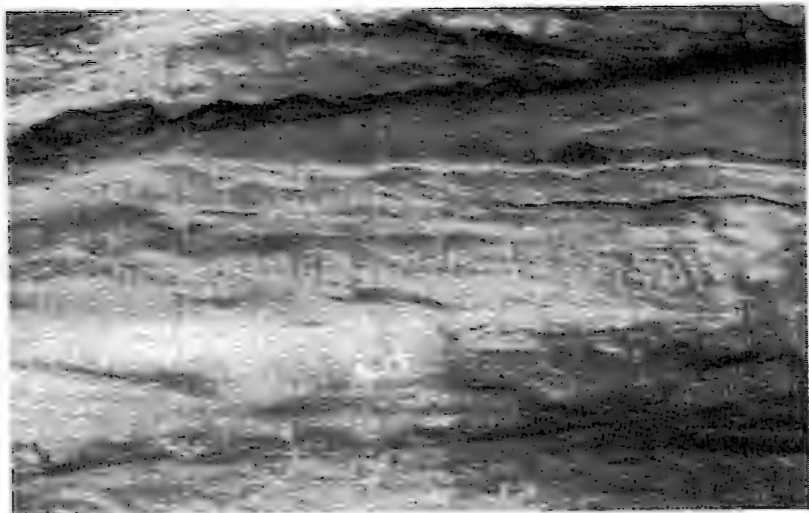
B. Inscription no. 2



A. Inscription Nos. 3 and 4



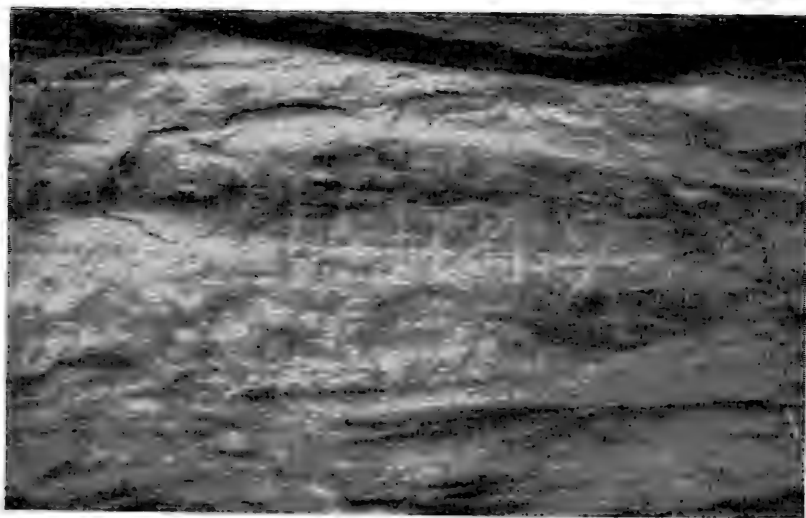
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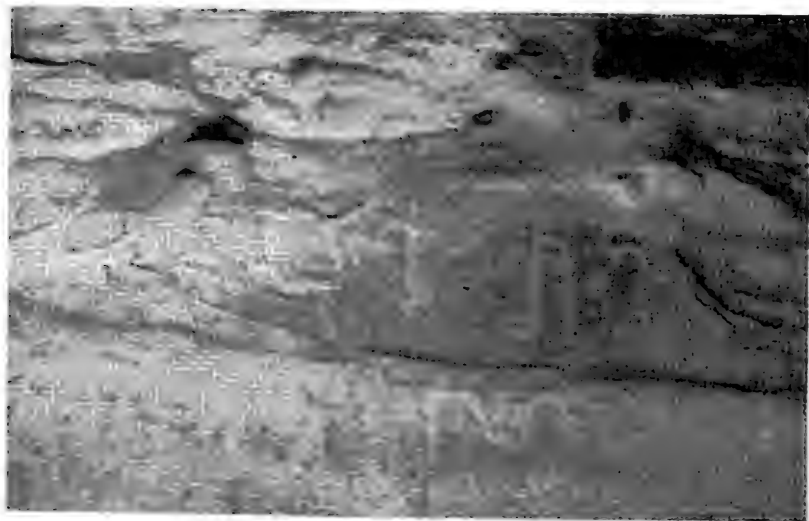
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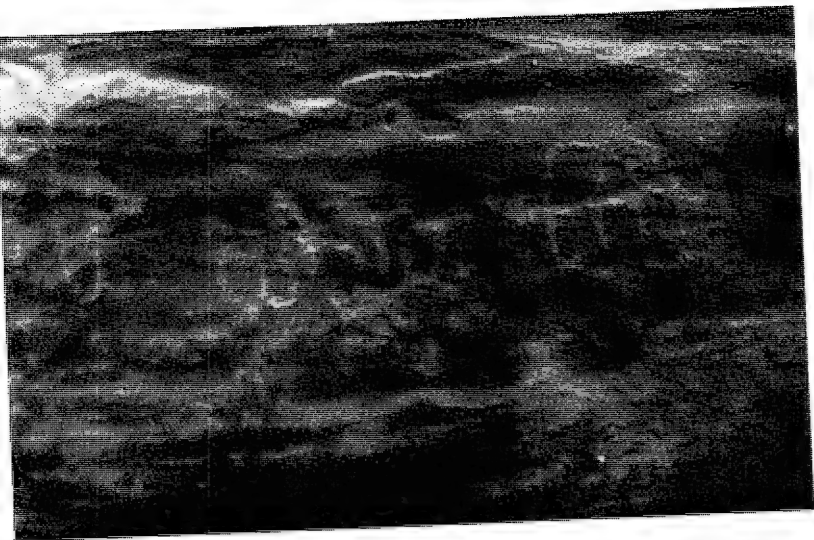
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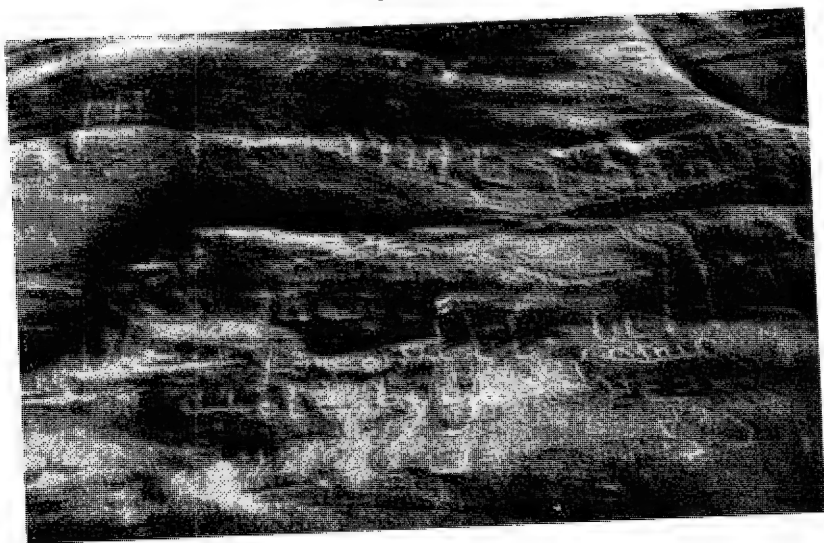
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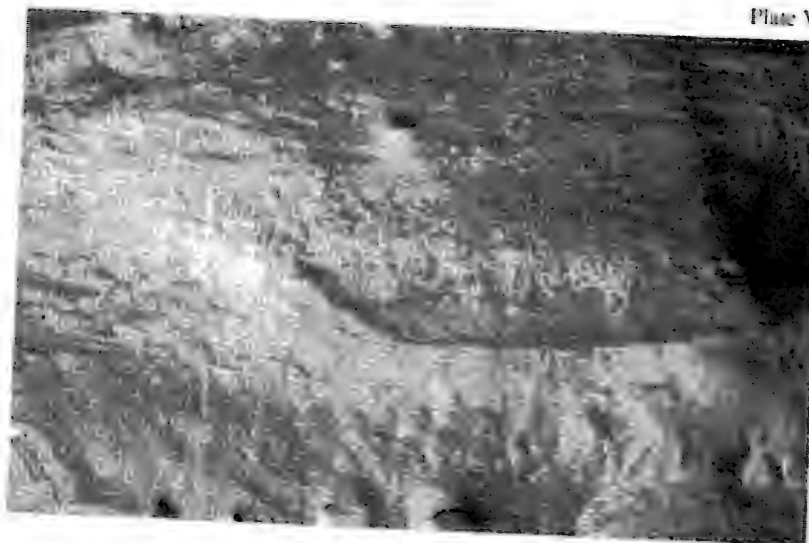
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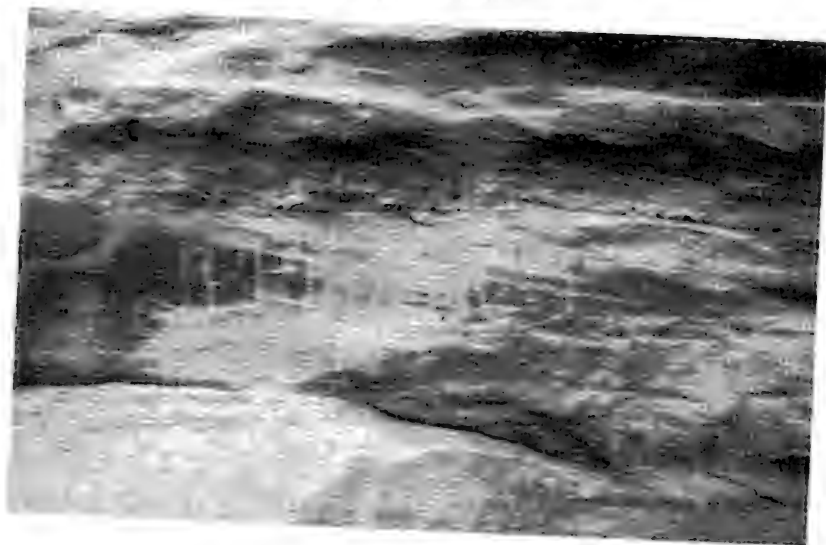
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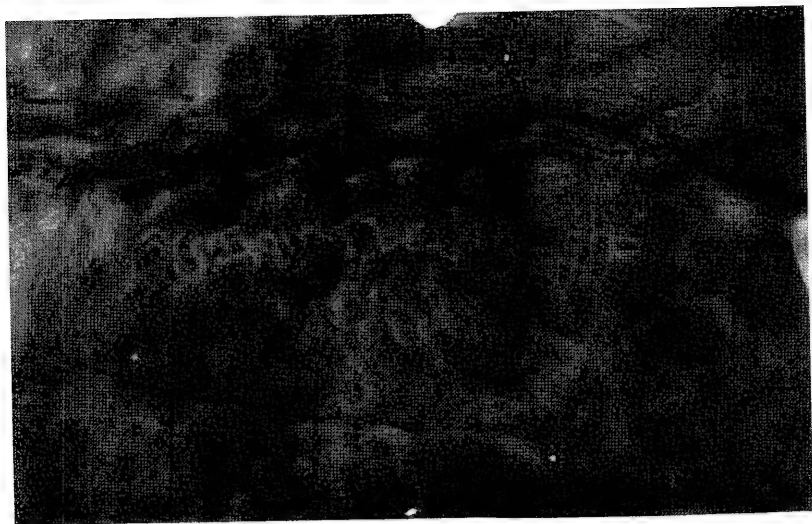
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A. Inscription No. 13



B. Inscription No. 14



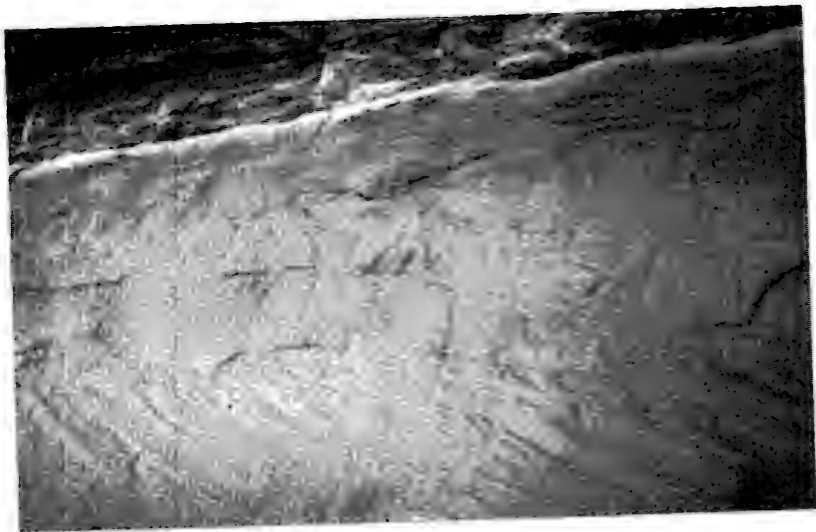
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B. Inscription No. 16



A. Inscription No. 17



A. Inscription No. 19



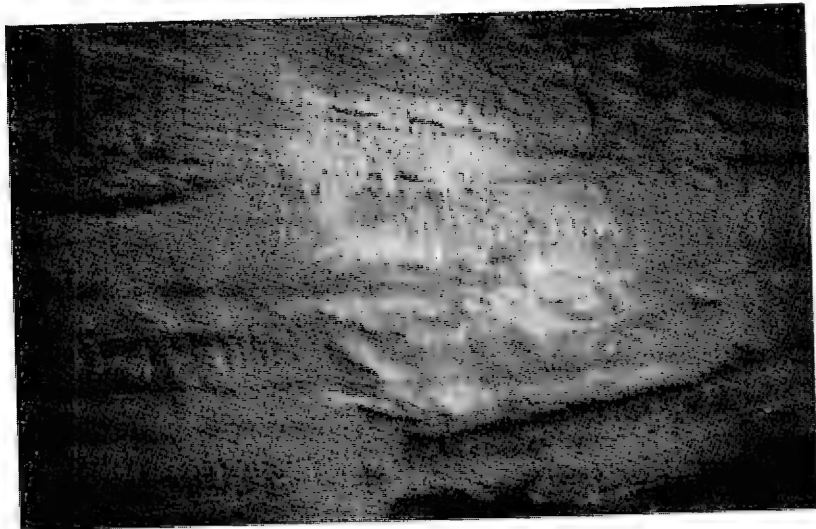
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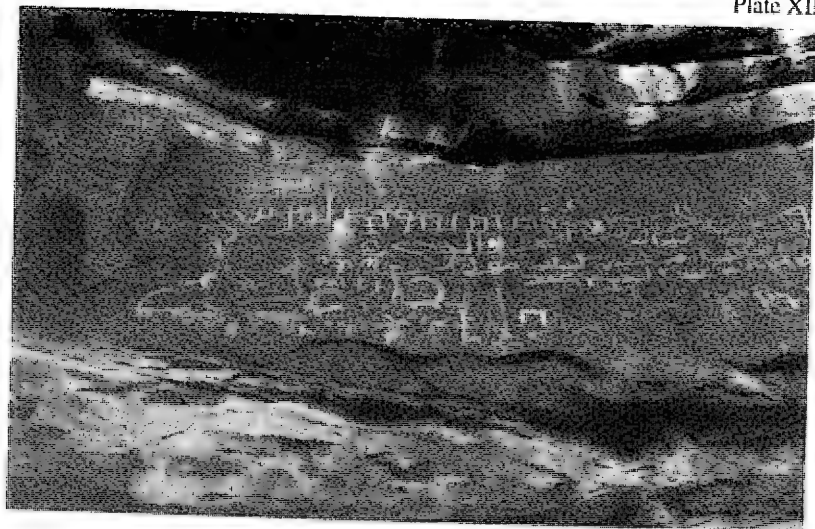
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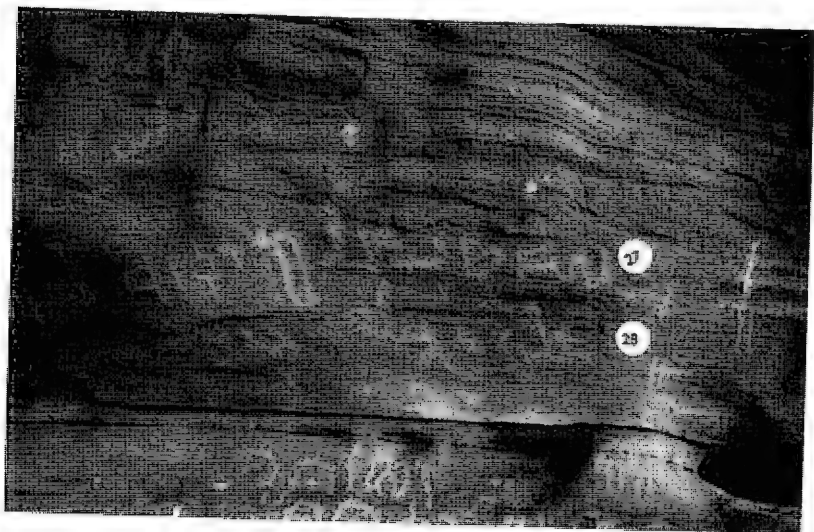
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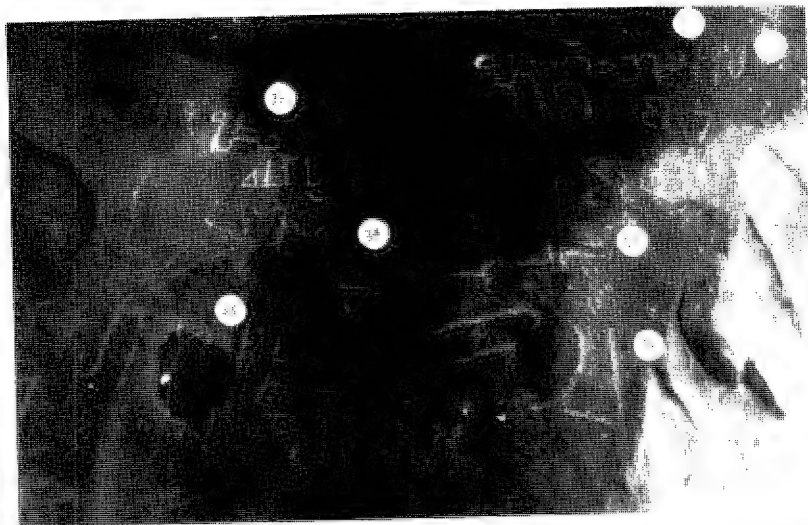
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A. Inscription No. 26



B. Inscription Nos. 27 and 28



A. Inscription Nos. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35



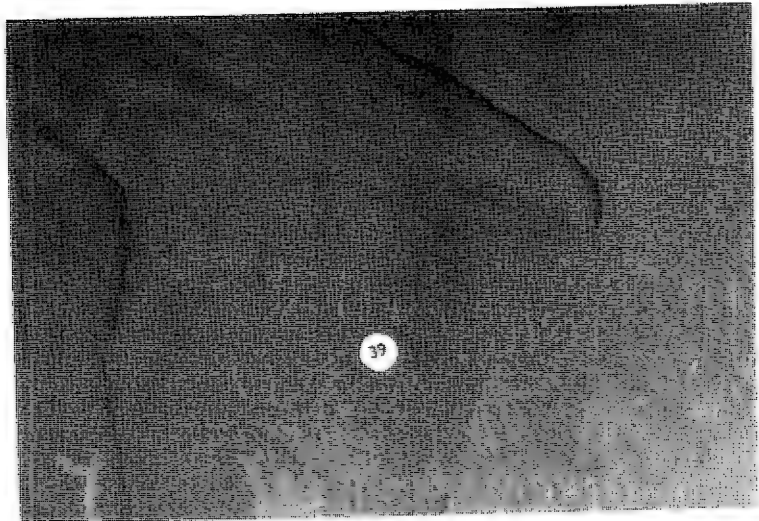
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A. Inscription No.37



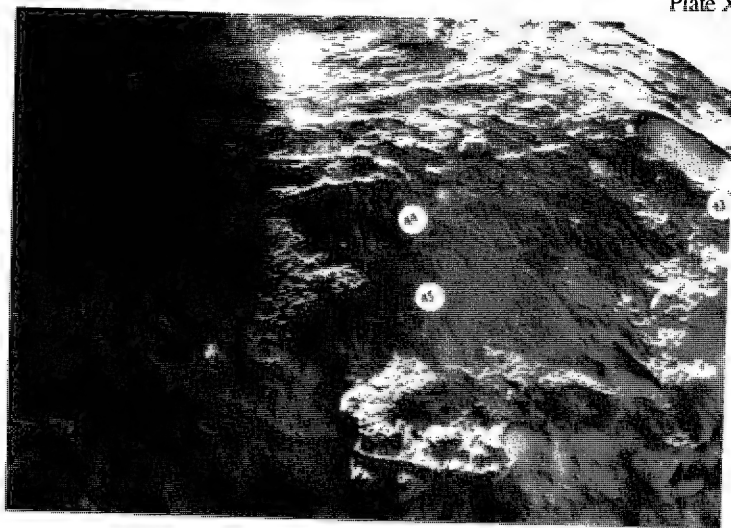
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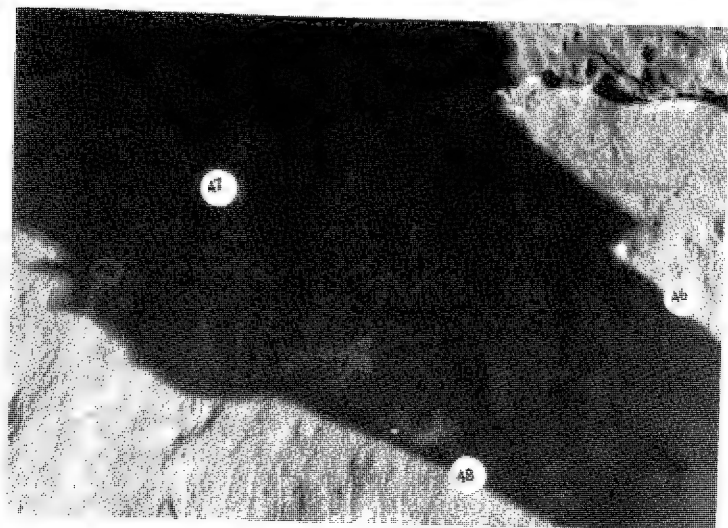
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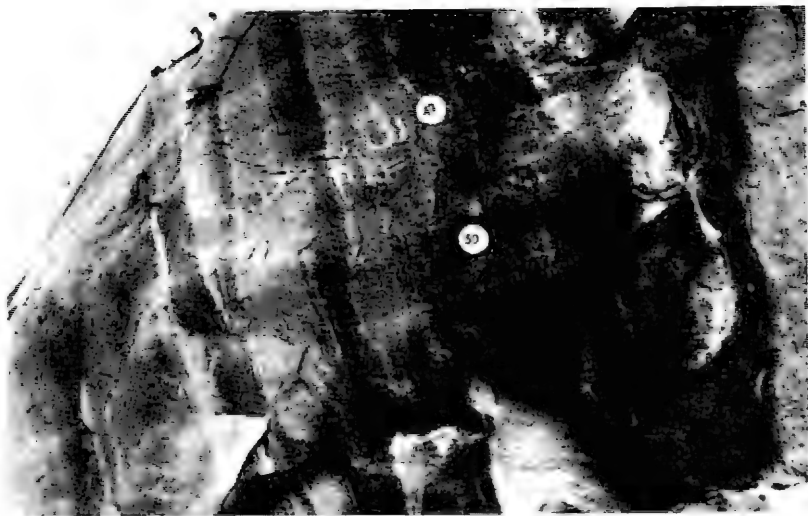
B. Inscription Nos. 40 and 41



A. Inscription Nos. 43, 44 and 45



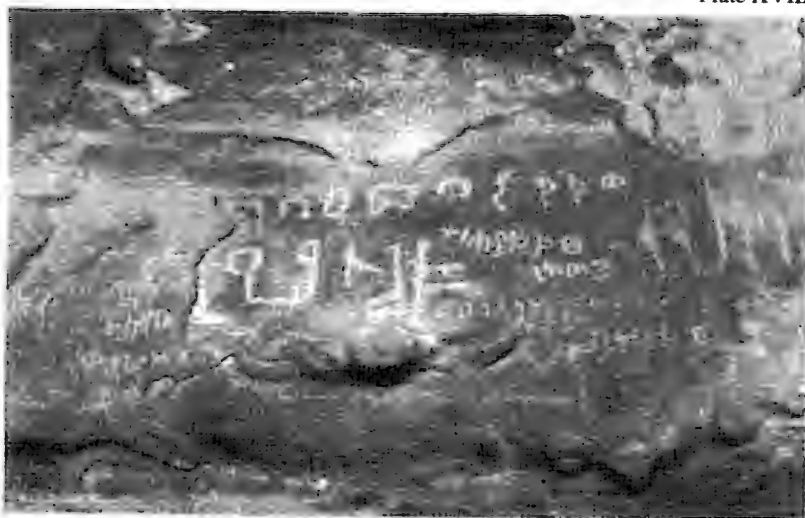
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A. Inscription Nos. 49 and 50



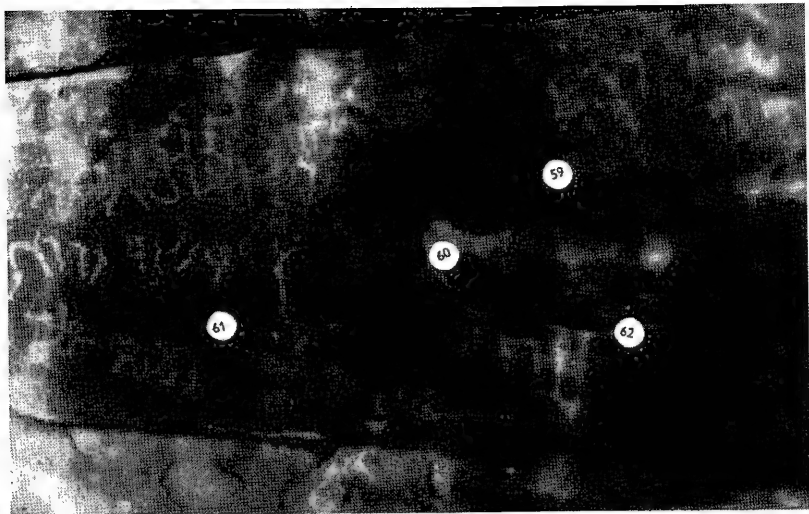
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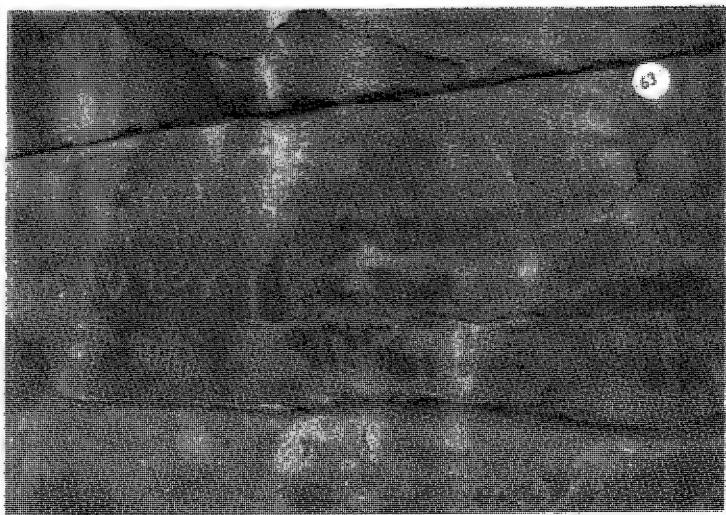
A. Inscription Nos. 52, 53, 54, 55 and 56



B. Inscription Nos. 57 and 58



A. Inscription Nos. 59, 60, 61 and 62



B. Inscription No. 63

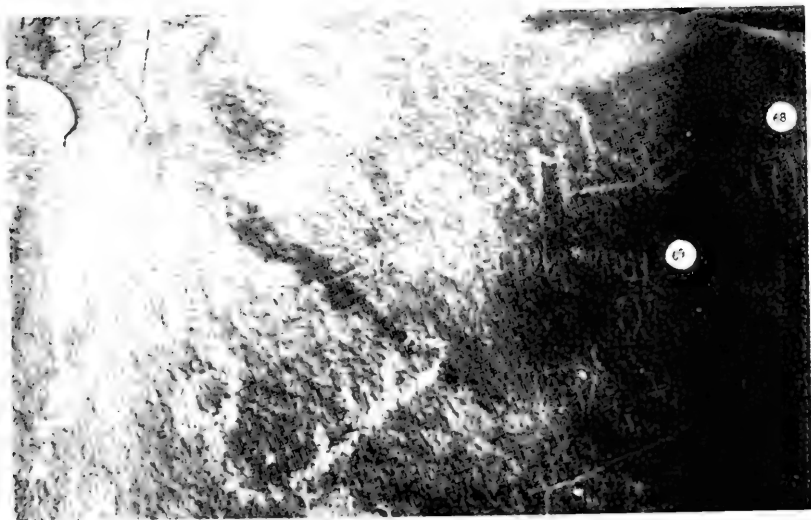
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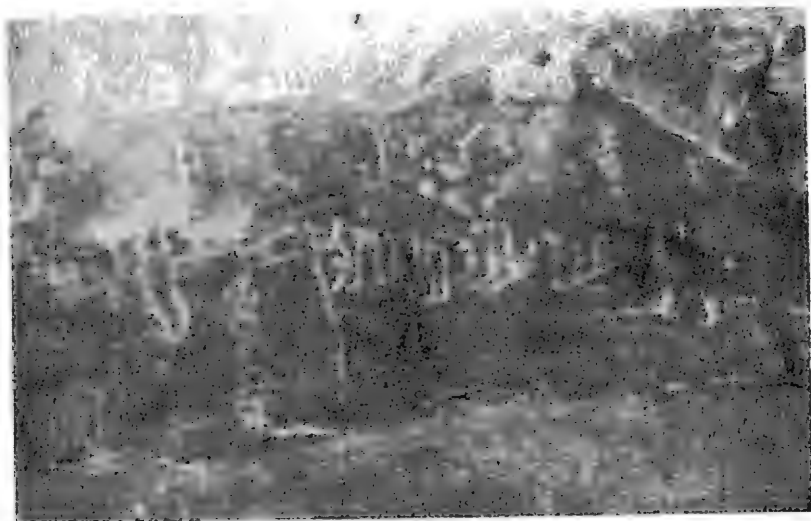
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B. Inscription Nos. 66 and 67



A. Inscription Nos. 68 and 69



B. Inscription No. 70



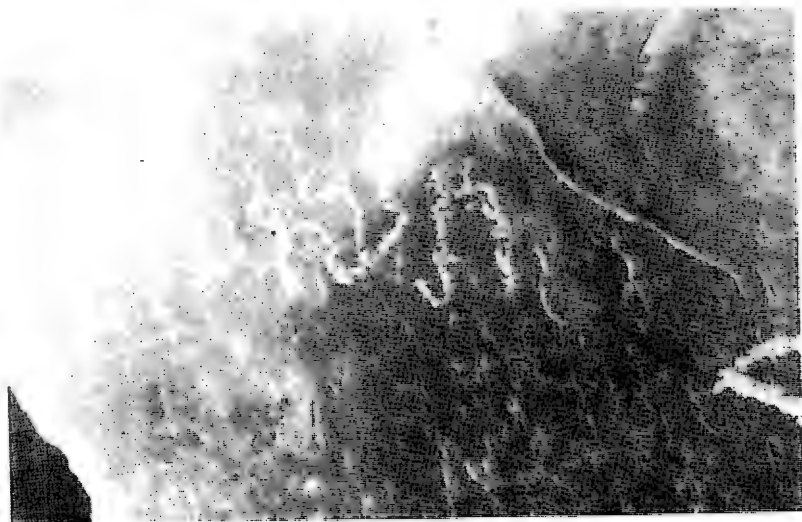
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B. Inscription No. 72



A. Inscription Nos. 73 and 74



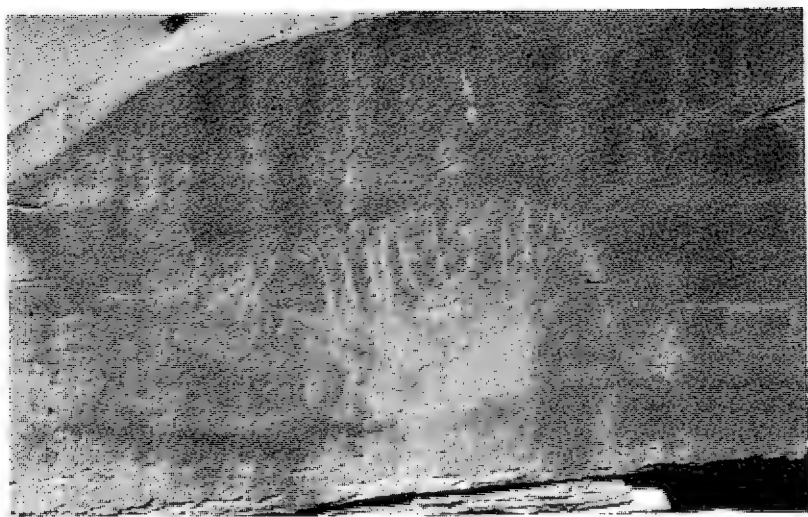
B. Inscription No. 75



A. Inscription No. 76



B. Inscription No. 77



A. Inscription No. 78



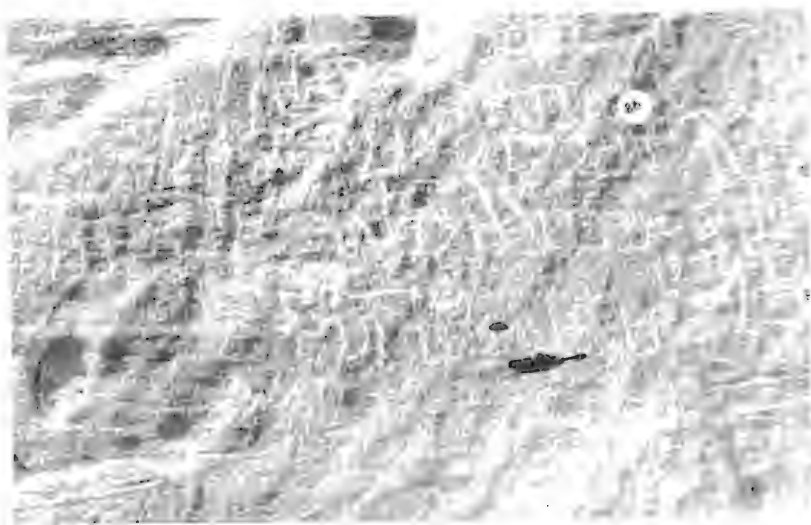
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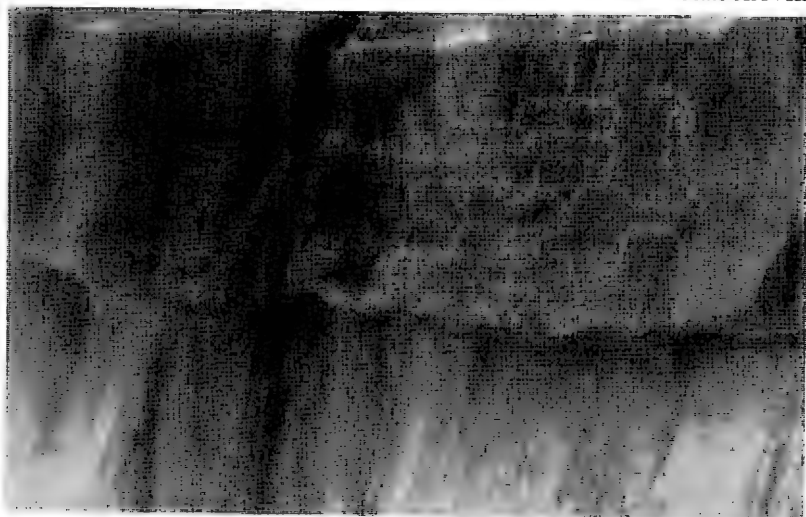
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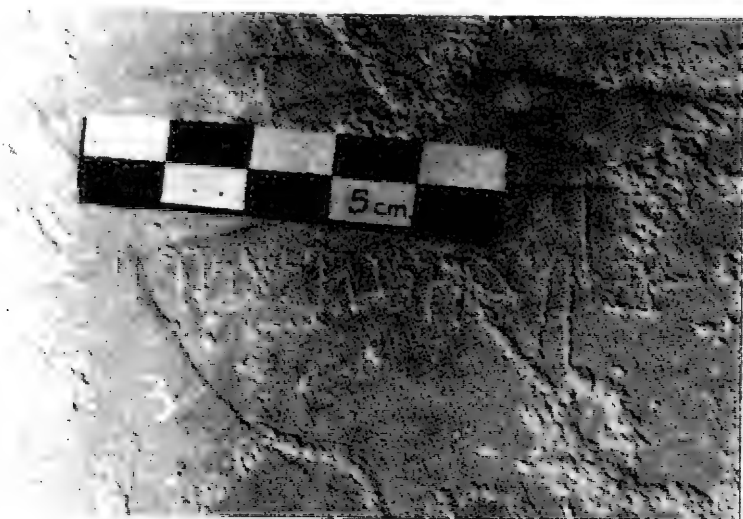
A. Inscription No. 83 and 84



B. Inscription No. 86, 87 and 88



A. Inscription Nos. 85 and 89



B. Inscription No. 93



A. Inscription No. 90



B. Inscription No. 92



A. Inscription No. 91

IV. Figures of Nabataean Inscriptions

<u>Figure No.</u>	<u>Inscription No.</u>
Fig. 1	No. 1
Fig. 2	No. 2
Fig. 3	No. 3
Fig. 4	No. 4
Fig. 5	No. 5
Fig. 6	No. 6
Fig. 7	No. 7
Fig. 8	No. 8
Fig. 9	No. 9
Fig. 10	No. 10
Fig. 11	No. 11
Fig. 12	No. 12
Fig. 13	No. 13
Fig. 14	No. 14
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Fig. 18	No. 18
Fig. 19	No. 19
Fig. 20	No. 20
Fig. 21	No. 21
Fig. 22	No. 22
Fig. 23	No. 23
Fig. 24	No. 24
Fig. 25	No. 25
Fig. 26	No. 26
Fig. 27	No. 27
Fig. 28	No. 28

Fig. 29	No. 29
Fig. 30	No. 30
Fig. 31	No. 31
Fig. 32	No. 32
Fig. 33	No. 33
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Fig. 35	No. 35
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Fig. 37	No. 37
Fig. 38	No. 38
Fig. 39	No. 39
Fig. 40	No. 40
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Fig. 45	No. 45
Fig. 46	No. 46
Fig. 47	No. 47
Fig. 48	No. 48
Fig. 49	No. 49
Fig. 50	No. 50
Fig. 51	No. 51
Fig. 52	No. 52
Fig. 53	No. 53
Fig. 54	No. 54
Fig. 55	No. 55
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Fig. 59	No. 59
Fig. 60	No. 60

Fig. 61	No. 61
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Fig. 63	No. 63
Fig. 64	No. 64
Fig. 65	No. 65
Fig. 67	No. 67
Fig. 68	No. 68
Fig. 69	No. 69
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Fig. 82	No. 82
Fig. 83	No. 83
Fig. 84	No. 84
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Fig. 86	No. 86
Fig. 87	No. 87
Fig. 88	No. 88
Fig. 89	No. 89
Fig. 90	No. 90
Fig. 91	No. 91
Fig. 92	No. 92
Fig. 93	No. 93

Fig. 94

Fig. 95

Fig. 96

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הרשט נטח
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אשר לא יחדל לעולם
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והוא נאמן
(14)
אשר לא יחדל לעולם
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עשרת השבועות
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הוא נאמן
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הוא נאמן
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הוא נאמן
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עמק שאלה
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הבית החדש
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עיר נח

העיר
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העיר החדשה
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לויט
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אין שטח
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עס זיך
 תאור
 (66)

און ס'האט
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און
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עס זיך
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און
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און
 (72)

דערפונט
ווערן זיך
נאך
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(74)

תורה שבעה
קרי
פא
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(76)

אלע דאזיקע
רעזולוציע
פארוואס
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(78)

עס איז
פארוואס
(79)

עס איז
אלע דאזיקע
פארוואס
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(81)

פארוואס
אלע דאזיקע
פארוואס
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אלע דאזיקע
פארוואס
אלע דאזיקע
פארוואס
(84)
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סג' ד' ס' ע' ע' (86)
א' ל' ס' פ' ר' ע' נ' א' (87)

שלם תינסאז טוט 9
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על שם
משה
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575 5 11 19 11
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עבודת שבת מר כתב
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خلاصة باللغة العربية

يتناول هذا العمل دراسة مجموعة مختارة من النقوش الأرامية القديمة ونقوش نبطية وجدت في أماكن متفرقة من شمال المملكة العربية السعودية وشمالها الغربى (العلا، مدائن صالح، تيماء، تبوك والجوف) وقد تضمنت الدراسة أربعة فصول رئيسية خصص الفصل الأول فيها لمراجعة الدراسات التاريخية والأثرية السابقة التى تناولت منطقة الدراسة بينما خصص الفصل الثانى لدراسة النقوش الأرامية القديمة التى وجدت فى مدينة تيماء وقد قسم هذا الفصل إلى أربعة أجزاء حيث عرض فى جزئه الأول لمحة تاريخية مختصرة عن القبائل الأرامية ودورها السياسى والحضارى فى بلاد الرافدين وبلاد الشام وعلاقاتها بالشعوب والقبائل المعاصرة. أما الجزء الثانى فقد عالج اللغة الأرامية ولهجاتها المتعددة، السريانية والنبطية والتدمرية وغيرها وخصص الجزء الثالث لترجمة النقوش الأرامية القديمة ودراستها ومن ضمنها خمسة نقوش لم تدرس من قبل أما بقية النقوش الأخرى فقد أعيد دراستها من خلال فحص صورها الأصلية. أما الجزء الرابع فى هذا الفصل فقد تناول دراسة أشكال حروف هذه النقوش. أما الفصل الثالث فقد تضمن دراسة النقوش النبطية وقد اشتمل هذا الفصل أيضاً على أربعة أجزاء، عالج الجزء الأول فيها الآراء المتعددة حول أصل القبائل العربية النبطية، أما الجزء الثانى فقد تضمن عرضاً لمواضيع النقوش النبطية المعروفة وخصص الجزء الثالث لترجمة النقوش النبطية ودراستها وهى ستة وتسعون نقشاً جديداً لم يسبق دراستها من قبل باستثناء ثلاثة نقوش فقط (٩١/٢٨/٢٧) وهى عبارة عن مخربشات تحتوى على أسماء أعلام وقبائل. أما الجزء الرابع فقد تضمن دراسة تفصيلية لأشكال الحروف النبطية فى هذه المجموعة. وأخيراً يأتى الفصل الرابع الذى خصص لدراسة أسماء الأعلام والقبائل والمفردات الأخرى دراسة لغوية تحليلية مقارنة. وقد اشتمل البحث على رسومات وصور فوتوغرافية لهذه النقوش.



نقوش آرامية قديمة ونبطية

من شمال غرب المملكة العربية السعودية

سليمان بن عبدالرحمن الذبيب

أستاذ مساعد في قسم الآثار والمتاحف

كلية الآداب - جامعة الملك سعود

الرياض

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